The CRISIS

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THE CRISIS

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THE CRISIS

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February, 1954

COVER

Dr. Marguerite Cartwright, of the Hunter College, New York City, faculty, has received a one-year study award from the Fund for Adult Education to make a study of human relations programs in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, and New York City.

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RETIRING PRESIDENT *Lionel O. Lindsay (right) of the Boston, Massachusetts, branch congratulates and pledges his support to new president, Col. Larkland F. Hewitt. Retiring president Lindsay served the branch three years. Col. Hewitt, former commanding officer of the 372nd Infantry, Massachusetts National Guard, and former state banking examiner, served for two years as chairman of the branch executive committee.*

■ This article discusses the late Booker T. Washington's relation to the NAACP and how Washington operated against "the opposition"

Booker T. Washington and the Rise of the NAACP

By August Meier

THE story of the birth of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and of Booker T. Washington's relations with it, properly begins some years before the Association was organized in 1909-1910. Among Negroes, opposition to the accommodating philosophy of the Tuskegeean achieved organized form by 1903. In the spring of that year appeared W.E.B. Du Bois' *Souls of Black Folk* with its critical essay, "Of Booker T. Washington and Others." In July, Monroe Trotter and other "radicals" from Boston—long a center of "Anti-Bookerite" sentiment—noisily and unsuccessfully attempted to unhorse "The Wizard" (as Washington was often called) from his control of the Afro-American Council, at that time the leading Negro rights organization. A few weeks later Trotter precipitated the "Boston Riot" by heckling Washington at a public meeting and trying to ask him a few pertinent questions. During 1903 and 1904, first the National Negro Suffrage League, and then the New England Suffrage and Georgia Equal Rights Leagues proved troublesome to Washington. Certain well-established journals, like the Chicago *Conservator* and the

This article was prepared under a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and is based mostly on materials in the Booker T. Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, The Spingarn Papers at Howard, the F. J. Garrison Papers at the Schomburg Collection, the Chesnutt Papers at Fisk and a few printed sources also proved helpful. Because of space limitations, footnotes have been eliminated. The author will supply documentation for any points of fact to anyone requesting them.

AUGUST MEIER, *who is writing a book on Dr. Washington, is an assistant to the president of Fisk University.*

Washington *Bee* had consistently criticised Washington, and in 1904 appeared *"The Voice of the Negro,* easily the most outstanding Negro magazine of the period, but one which soon proved to be something less than a friend to Tuskegee. Then, in 1905, came the Niagara Movement.

Washington viewed "the opposition" as a threat to the success of his program, and probably also as a threat to his power and prestige. A study of the Washington papers reveals that the Tuskegeean had for his goals full equality and citizenship rights. He sincerely believed that an approach stressing economic development and vocational education, attacking mob violence tactfully and only occasionally, and flattering southern upper class whites and northern industrialists, would eventually accomplish the ends desired by both himself and his critics. At the very time when he publicly minimized the importance of the franchise, he was deeply involved in the politics of the Roosevelt administration, exerted tremendous influence over political patronage dispensed to Negroes and certain southern whites, fought a desperate and losing action against the encroachments of the lily-white Republicans, and secretly financed the Alabama and Louisiana test cases against southern disfranchisement. He was instrumental in taking to the Supreme Court cases involving peonage and the exclusion of Negroes from juries. He did not complain about segregation and he abjured "social equality," yet he secretly employed a lobbyist to defeat a congressional bill that would have encouraged railroad segregation in the North; and he travelled in social circles in the North and abroad that few southern whites could enter.

WASHINGTON SUPPORTERS

Nor, for the most part, did those Negro newspapers which supported Washington adopt his accommodating tone. H. T. Johnson of the A. M. E. *Christian Recorder,* for example, was on cordial terms with Washington and wrote strong editorials in his favor. But he wrote equally strong ones against southern outrages and discrimination. Even an organ like the *New York Age,* which was heavily subsidized and for a time partly owned by Washington, was militant in its outlook. Again, Washington was friendly with the author Charles Chesnutt who, though in ideological agreement with the "radicals," entertained a sincere admiration for the Tuskegeean. In short, what appeared to bother Washington about his critics was not "whining and complaining," or their outspoken attacks upon the South and their demands for the ballot and civil rights, but their equally outspoken criticism of him and his program.

Undoubtedly he felt that their attack upon his leadership jeopardized the success of the only program he thought would win Negroes their full rights. At the same time his papers lead one to suspect that, subconsciously at least, he feared the loss of his own ascendancy. In view of his tactful manipulation of most situations, his bitter and often vindictive battle with his critics can hardly be otherwise explained. Indeed the evidence suggests that Washington was

frightened by the attacks made upon him. He never questioned the sincerity or good will of the "better class" of southern whites, or of the northern industrialists who supported him, or of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft with all their shilly-shallying on the race problem; but he found it almost impossible to credit the integrity of his liberal critics, who were more interested in the advancement of colored people than many of his supporters. There is no reason to doubt Washington's sincerity. So thoroughly did he identify his success with that of his program, that he was unable to ascribe any but selfish motives to his opponents.

Even before the Louisville Convention of the Afro-American Council, Washington had taken steps to undercut "the opposition." Early in 1902 Roscoe Conkling Bruce, son of Reconstruction Senator Blanche K. Bruce, at the time a student at Harvard, and later head of Tuskegee's academic department, was attempting to wean Clement Morgan away from the other "radicals," and trying to obtain the dismissal of George Washington Forbes, co-editor of Trotter's *Guardian,* from his post in the Boston Library. Again, early in 1903, A.M.E. Zion Bishop Alexander Walters was in Boston to prevent "the opposition" from using a public meeting to denounce Washington. During the agitated spring and summer of 1903 Washington bent his efforts, especially through his contacts with the Negro press, to quiet the calls for conventions, and to keep the Afro-American Council, which he controlled, as the sole organization of Negro action. In August he asked his secretary, Emmett J. Scott, to have certain trustworthy journals publish a Tuskegee-prepared attack on the "radicals" as coming from a "Boston correspondent." Washington vigorously pressed the prosecution of Trotter for his role in the "Boston Riot," and it was at the behest of the Tuskegee group that William Pickens, then a student at Yale, sued Trotter's *Guardian* for libel.

ATTEMPTS AT CONCILIATION

Meanwhile, Washington had been working for a meeting with "the opposition" in an attempt at conciliation. Such a conference met at Carnegie Hall in New York in January, 1904. Though the meeting was secret, it appears that Washington clarified his stand on ultimate goals and temporarily convinced most of his critics of his sincerity and loyalty to the cause of Negro advancement. But the pot was almost immediately merrily boiling again. Trotter, though not a member of the conference, tried to have his version of the proceedings published in the daily press—an effort neatly foiled by the Washington group. E. H. Morris, member of the Illinois legislature, past Grant Master of the Odd Fellows, and a member of the conference violently denounced Washington, in an address titled "Shams," before the noted Bethel Literary and Historical Association in Washington. The Tuskegeean himself immediately made an extended tour to present his view to Negro audiences, and for the next two years made numerous addresses emphasizing the necessity of stressing industrial education and economic development, but also recognizing the importance

of higher education and political and civil rights.

Nor did Washington discard less overt maneuvers. In fact a rising crescendo of criticism undoubtedly made further astute measures appear imperative. Disliking the tactics of the National Negro Suffrage League and its president, Richmond lawyer James H. Hayes, he urged that papers friendly to himself ignore the movement, and sent T. Thomas Fortune edtorial copy with which to subtly attack the League in the *New York Age*. Fortune and others, nevertheless, hammered away strongly at Hayes. Working through a mutual friend, Washington convinced Hayes, temporarily, of the error of his ways, and of the value of cooperation with the Tuskeegean. Once Hayes had come around, Washington wrote him an unusually revealing letter, apologizing for being unable to stop Fortune's attacks, but noting that—as he had promised—the other papers had ceased to disturb Hayes.

This incident shows how Washington employed one of his most effective instruments—the Negro press—against his critics. Through the influence of strategically placed friends, by judicious use of advertisements and subscriptions and subsidies for special issues, through control over the Negro press associations, in some cases by supplying actual editorial copy, in half a dozen instances by substantial cash contributions, and in two cases by securing part ownership, in a journal, Washington exercised wide influence. In Boston he subsidized first the *Colored Citizen* and later *Alexander's Magazine* to offset Trotter's *Guardian*. In Washington he assisted E. E. Cooper's struggling *Colored American* against Calvin Chase's *Bee*, later apparently obtaining Chase's support by a similar method. In Chicago he toyed with the idea of subsidizing a rival to the hostile *Conservator*, but was unable to find a dependable editor. After many efforts the Tuskegee group in 1907 finally succeeded in buying the leading journal of the time—the *New York Age*—from Washington's undependable friend, T. Thomas Fortune. The evidence also suggests that in 1904 Washington and Fred R. Moore acquired the *Colored American Magazine* so as to have an effective rival to the *Voice of the Negro*.

Throughout 1904 and 1905 steps were taken to squelch "the opposition." In September, 1904, Washington directed his close associate, Charles W. Anderson, collector of Internal Revenue in New York, to thwart Trotter's efforts to get a campaign subsidy from the Connecticut Republic Committee. More significant was Washington's infiltration of the New England Suffrage League, formed under Trotter's leadership in October, 1904. At this meeting, Clifford H. Plummer, posing as an opponent of Washington, worked successfully in the resolutions committee and on the floor to eliminate any expression of anti-Washington sentiment, and secured a place on the organization's executive committee.

NIAGARA MOVEMENT

The Niagara Movement formed in July 1905 called forth similar tactics. While in letters to each other the Tuskegee group dismissed the movement as consisting of selfish notoriety seekers, "Unmoneyed patri-

ots," whose very stinginess would lead to failure, actions belied this whistling in the dark. Collector Anderson immediately suggested that a way be found to oust L. M. Hershaw, later an editor of the Niagara Movement's *Horizon* magazine, from his government position. Acting on a telegram from Washington, Scott asked R. W. Thompson of the National Press Bureau not to mention the movement in his dispatches, and to influence various journals to the same effect. Only one journal "heretofore favorable" to Washington seemed equivocal in its attitude, and Washington, expressing concern lest he "lose" any "friends," suggested that its editor be invited to Tuskegee "at our expense" for a conference. Yet in spite of all these efforts, Washington found it "puzzling" that some of his supporters had "discussed" the Niagara Movement on the assumption that its members were "honest." In later years he planted materials in the *New York Age* deprecating the movement's influence.

Washington also tried to infiltrate the new movement. At the end of 1905 he urged his trusted confidant, Charles Anderson, to find some one who could enter the "inner circles" of the organization and secure information about its "operations." Whether or not Anderson was able to do so, it is certain that by the time of the Niagara Movement's Harper's Ferry meeting in August, 1906, Washington had secured the services of Richard T. Greener, first Negro graduate from Harvard, and consul at Vladivostok, 1897-1901. Informing Greener that the aim of the Niagara Movement was "to defeat" all that he did, and that he had tried to work with Du Bois who had "been fooled" by Trotter and others into believing himself a "leader," Washington asked Greener to make every effort to enter into "the inside of things."

Meanwhile, opposition to Washington's program was developing among liberal whites. Originally supporters of Washington, men like John E. Milholland and Oswald Garrison Villard eventually became impatient with his tactics and moved over into the opposition.

John E. Milholland, a Republican politician, and president of the Batcheller Pneumatic Tube Company, manufacturers of equipment for rapid underground mail transit in large cities, was interested in a variety of reform movements. He was on cordial terms with Washington during the stormy days of 1903, contributing substantially to what appears to have been the Alabama test case. About 1904 he took the lead in organizing the Constitutional League, whose purpose was to attack disfranchisement, peonage, and mob violence by court action, legislation and propaganda. As an interracial protest organization it, like the Niagara Movement, as one of the precursors of the NAACP. League secretary Andrew M. Humphrey made an early effort to enlist the tacit support of Washington for its activities. In view of Washington's peculiar position in the South, he disclaimed any hope of close cooperation, but welcomed Washington's cordial assurance to help in furthering the "common cause." Nor was it long before the Tuskegeean had recourse to the League. In characteristic indirect fashion he had Humphrey submit—as

the views of representative colored men—strongly worded planks to the Platform Committee of the 1904 Republican national convention on Negro rights.

THE PLATT BILL

Affairs ran fairly smoothly between Washington and Milholland until the summer of 1905. An unfortunate error which prevented Milholland's speaking at the convention of Washington's National Negro Business League in August brought forth an apology from Washington, who hoped he had not lost the friendship of one so courageous and "generous" in working for Negro rights. Though Milholland accepted the apology, it was only a short time before he and Washington had reached a fundamental disagreement over the Platt Bill which proposed to end disfranchisement by reducing the congressional representation of discriminating states in accordance with the Fourteenth Amendment. Washington consistently opposed such measures on the ground that the South would accept reduction in representation and thus stamp disfranchisement with the seal of constitutionality. And so Milholland found that the League's efforts for the bill were always met with the same reply, from the President on down, that Booker Washington was opposed to it. Probably because of Washington's attitude, Milholland turned to others like Trotter and Du Bois. Although Milholland expressed continued friendliness toward Washington, the latter was distinctly nettled, and came to believe that Milholland turned to others like Trotter and DuBois. Although Milholland expressed continued friendliness toward Washington, the latter was distinctly nettled, and came to believe that Milholland was merely a "professional' friend" of Negroes, using them to further his own ends. Relationships remained edgy through most of 1906. And then came the Brownsville affair to precipitate new crises and a permanent break.

Undoubtedly Washington did all he could to stay Roosevelt's hand from dishonorably discharging the members of the 25th U. S. Infantry, stationed at Fort Brown, Texas, on charges of "shooting up" nearby Brownsville. But once Roosevelt and Secretary of War Taft had taken their action, Washington remained loyal to them, feeling that they had made a sincere, though unfortunate mistake. Most Negroes and liberal whites felt otherwise. Immediately upon receipt of news of Roosevelt's order of November 5, 1906, Milholland sent Mary Church Terrell to see Secretary Taft. Mrs. Terrell, first president of the National Association of Colored Women, was the wife of District of Columbia Judge Robert H. Terrell, who owed his appointment to the influence of Washington. At her request, Taft delayed the execution of the order thirty-six hours until the President returned to Washington. The League held a series of indignation meetings in various cities, and sent Gilchrist Stewart, a Tuskegee graduate, to Texas to make an investigation. Upon Stewart's return he and Mrs. Terrell had an interview with the President, who merely promised to send their evidence to the War Department.

Washington perceived the fine hand of the Constitutional League in

all this agitation. Early in 1907 he informed Postmaster General Cortelyou that it was Mulholland, who derived most of his income from selling pneumatic tube equipment to the post office department, who, as the mainstay of the Constitutional League, was mainly responsible for stirring up the Brownsville agitation. Washington, indeed, was so closely associated with the national administration that it was only natural that opposition to him should be practically identical with opposition to Roosevelt and Taft. As Washington worked to swing Negro support behind Taft in the election of 1908, he found his chief difficulty to be the Constitutional League. Undoubtedly the Tuskegee group's most remarkable effort in this direction was a famous editorial in the *New York Age*, entitled "The Brownsville Ghouls." Written by Auditor of the Navy Ralph W. Tyler, who was active in lining up the Negro press behind Taft, this piece—without calling names—pictured the opposition as "human ghouls, worthless parasites who represent nothing save selfish avarice," who had led "the race into ambush" by preying upon the misfortunes of the Brownsville soldiers in their greedy desire for personal advancement.

EXERTING PRESSURE

Tyler was also directed to inform a Washington *Post* correspondent—who was gathering material on anti-Taft sentiment among Negroes—that such feelings emanated entirely from a small group associated with the Constitutional League. Further steps against the opposition included exerting pressure to prevent the election of the Niagara Movement's famous orator, A.M.E. minister Reverdy C. Ransom to the post of editor of the Christian Recorder, and of Rev. S. L. Corrothers to a bishopric in the A.M.E. Zion Church. But all in all it was a difficult time for Washington. Gilchrist Stewart and others were playing both sides, claiming friendship with Washington and yet working on salary for the League, and informing the League of Washington's "political moves." Washington came to feel that the initiative had passed out of his hands, and that the League's offices were the "headquarters" of all the opposition to him. He now judged Milholland to be a "dangerous" person, jealous of any Negro of prominence, a man who was playing the "old carpet-bag game" of using supposed Negro support as a bargaining point at Republican conventions, and one who would battle Washington until the "Blacklegs" and "schemers" on the League's payroll had squandered all his money. (Washington said this group included W. A. Sinclair, author and field secretary of the League, Ranson, Bishop Walters, Trotter, and J. Max Barber, formerly editor of *The Voice of the Negro*.) In spite of all the concern the League caused Washington, the majority of Negroes remained loyal to the Republican ticket in 1908, only a few like Bishop Walters and Du Bois supporting Bryan that year.

With Oswald Garrison Villard, wealthy capitalist and philanthropist, and publisher of the New York *Evening Post*, Washington maintained a closer relationship than he had with Milholland. During the exciting summer of 1903 Villard had

addressed the National Negro Business League at its meeting in Nashville. When the *Post* supported the Platt Bill for reducing southern representation in Congress, Washington worked through eminent men like his own close friend William H. Baldwin, President of the Long Island Railroad; Wallace Buttrick, agent of the General Educational Board; and the liberal Southerner of New York, Walter Hines Page, to change Villard's views. From 1905 to 1909 there was a continual flow of cordial correspondence about various matters, including the Manassas Industrial School in which Villard was deeply interested, Villard's address at the twenty-fifth anniversary of Tuskegee in 1906, and especially Villard's campaign to raise $157,000 as the William H. Baldwin Memorial Fund for the Tuskegee endownment. Once Washington asked Villard for two or three hundred dollars for a legal fight against the practice of sentencing to the chain gang colored farm tenants who had violated their contracts. On one occasion Villard referred to Washington as a man with a "rare and pure spirit."

But Villard was not entirely isolated from the opposition. He and his uncle Francis J. Garrison displayed considerable concern over charges that Washington was subsidizing various journals. In a lengthy letter in 1905 Washington denied that he subsidized or possessed shares in any newspaper or magazine, or that he deliberately exercised control over any Negro organizations. Though at variance with the facts, Washington's denials were so convincingly stated that Villard declared to his uncle that Washington's letter was "absolutely satisfactory," and that he wished he might show it to Du Bois "and shut him up."

Yet Villard was not entirely satisfied with current efforts for the advancement of colored people. Neither Washington's indirection, nor the agitation of the declining Negro Movement and Afro-American Council, nor the noisy Constitutional League were effectively stemming the seemingly irresistible tide of segregation, disfranchisement, and race riots. The remedy lay, Villard wrote Washington in 1908, in a "strong central defense committee," which would secure land, bring cases of lynching to court, agitate for Negro rights, and maintain publications bureau.

RISING PROTEST

Others too were thinking of the necessity of an effective rights organization. The story of how William English Walling, Mary White Ovington, and Dr. Henry Moskowitz prevailed upon Villard to issue a call for a conference on the Negro to be held on May 30, 1909, and how their meeting resulted in the NAACP, has been frequently told. Washington declined Villard's invitation to attend the conference and in tactful terms clearly stated his position. He denied that he was afraid to attend, but felt that his presence might deter free discussion and might harm the cause of Negro education and interfere with the work which he alone could do in the South. He agreed that "agitation and criticism" were valuable, but felt that they were not a "cure-all." The NAACP, incorporated in 1910, never formally united

(*Continued on page* 117)

■ These are the realities in the now eight-year-old Indo-Chinese war

Our Disgrace in Indo-China

By William Worthy, Jr.

WRITING in mid-December, I know that there will likely be many new developments in the Indo-China war before this piece appears in print. But nowhere can the reader get a better two-sentence summary of the war's color significance than in the following blunt paragraph from a Bermuda Conference dispatch in the *New York Times* of December 9, 1953:

The war in Indo-China has cost France the equivalent of more than $7,000,000,000—surpassing the dollar aid received since World War II from the United States. A continued French struggle there will help to insure United States and British support in Europe and in unruly North Africa.

Yes, the dangled prizes of this "dirty war," this Washington-bankrolled war, this potential colonial prelude to a World War III of color are not limited to resources of Asia. Said the working Committee of India's ruling Congress Party on December 6, 1953:

The change over from colonialism to independence [has been] checked, and recent events have shown that attempts are being made to reverse this process and to consolidate both politically and economically foreign control of many countries in Asia and Africa, and even elsewhere. The Working Committee has noted these developments with anxious concern and consider them a grave peril to the peace of the world.

According to the *New York Herald Tribune* of May 5, 1953, the Indian government has warned the West that internationalization of the Indo-China war would bring full-scale intervention by the Chinese Communists, as in Korea.

Whose chestnuts are in the fire? asks Professor Robert S. Lynd of Columbia University, author of

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WILLIAM WORTHY *returned to the United States in October after a 28-month tour of Europe and Asia. He covered the Asian Socialist Congress in Rangoon for the Social-Democratic press of Europe, was in New Delhi at the Seminar on Gandhian Philosophy in January, 1953, and witnessed the Korean truce signing at Panmunjon. He was also an accredited Crisis correspondent in Korea.*

Middletown, in an article entitled "Whose Wars?"

> The third generation of Rockefellers are engaged in developments in Latin America, the so-called China Lobby is doing business in Asia, and American capital is moving rapidly into Africa. . . . None of this would have sounded ominous to an Englishman in the 19th century. . . . [But] it is asking for trouble in a world in which colonial people need and have the right to develop their own potentials, and in which "trouble" means the renewal of colonial wars on a large and inhuman scale.

FACTS OF WAR

What, in brief, are the facts of the seven-year-old war in Indo-China? In the March, 1948, issue of *The Crisis* George Padmore detailed the events leading up to the outbreak of the fighting. Perhaps I should summarize the war's long course and its disastrousness to date for die-hard Western policies by going back to an evening last spring in Saigon when I was being briefed by the French censor on that day's fighting between the "loyal" Vietnam forces and the "rebel," Communist-led Vietminh guerrillas. As he skipped with his pointer over the map of Indo-China—the three Associated States of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos (the latter having just been invaded)—I began to have an unexpected feeling of profound ignorance. For years I have read the Times and other major U.S. publications with religious regularity and thoroughness. Yet no dispatches had ever given me the slightest hint that such vast sections of territory were under Vietminh control. As of now ninety (90) per cent of Vietnam—the most populous and advanced of the three states—is held by the guerrillas whose colorful leader is always referred to in Western publications as "Moscow-trained Ho Chi Minh."

The reader will note the quotation marks around the "loyal" Vietnam forces and around "Moscow-trained." No less a Tory paper than the London *Daily Telegraph* has said that "the pro-French Vietnam Army is uncertain in loyalty." And throughout Asia, from India to Japan, I found the universal conviction that Ho Chi Minh, despite his Moscow training, is and always was a nationalist first and foremost. While Indo-China was being ruled by Vichy French collaborators during the Japanese occupation, Ho was the leader of the anti-Japanese maquis and dealt with the anti-Nazi maquis of France. The people of Vietnam still call Ho's Vietminh Party "le maquis" and "la résistance." From New Delhi last July 6 Nehru thundered that the conflict in Indo-China is a "war for national liberation."

Let me also use an analogy in discussing Ho's attachment to Moscow. Barring those persons who by temperament are stooges and collaborators, Tito has shown that there is a limit on the degree of foreign influence that can be exerted on anyone of *any nationality*—especially on anyone charged with the responsibility of governing a proud people. In 1946 a Quaker relief worker in China asked Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist leader, how he had liked to see the Russians, after V-J Day, dismantle, crate and ship to the Soviet Union everything in Manchuria that was worth taking. Mao would say only three eloquent words: "I am Chinese." Similarly, I met in

Japan many American-educated Japanese, hitherto (according to their fellow countrymen) more American than Japanese in their outlook, who are turning against the USA because our policies for Japan are now felt by them to be flagrantly against the best interests of their native land.

IMPERIALISM STRONG

At the Potsdam Conference of July, 1945, it was decided that British troops and the Chinese forces of Chiang Kai-shek should accept the surrender of Japanese forces in Indo-China. The British, landing on September 19, were stationed south of the 16th parallel, and the Chinese to the north of it. Even with a Labor Government in London British imperialism did not change: it believed in "solidarity forever" among its brother imperialisms in France and Holland. The British refused to recognize the Vietnam Republic, helped rearm French forces and helped them to reestablish their sovereignty in Saigon and most other cities.

According to authorities on Asia, the anti-Communist Kuomintang Chinese first favored Ho's government. The Vietminh had held a congress near the Chinese border and elected Ho president of a provisional government, "which established itself at Hanoi and looked confidently for Allied recognition." The Chinese helped the Vietminh to hold general elections—the first in the country's history. From the elections came a National Assembly. But before Ho could consolidate his government the Chinese made a deal with the French, and Chinese troops were withdrawn from Indo-China. The French then made ready to return above the 16th parallel. On March 6, 1946, Ho signed an agreement with France in which France recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a "free state with its own government, parliament, army and finances, forming part of the Indochinese Federation and the French Union." Ho agreed to allow 25,000 French troops to be stationed in Vietnam provided they would be withdrawn gradually by 1952.

But soon disagreements arose over interpretations of the territory covered by the Vietnam Republic. In November, 1946, the French bombarded Haiphong. The Vietnam Army retaliated. By early 1947 a full-scale war was on. In May, 1948, the French dug deep into the barrel of former collaborators with the Japanese and picked out Bao Dai to head a rival government. In June, 1949 he assumed the title of Chief of State under the fiction of "associated statehood" which, say the scholars, "differed only in name from the familiar colonial regime."

PLAYBOY CHIEF

Most of the fighting has taken place within the state of Vietnam (the invasion of Laos last spring was short-lived), but nevertheless the French have been greatly embarrassed during the past year by ever more insistent demands from both Laos and Cambodia for full independence. (After V-J Day the French strong-armed their way back into those two states also.) Today, 149 miles northeast of Saigon, at Dalat, sits Bao Dai (when he is not on the Riviera). Even by regal standards of

living his royal presence seems on the costly side. Said *Newsweek* on April 13, 1953:

> It isn't generally realized but supporting Bao Dai, the playboy chief of state of Vietnam, has been costing French (and American) taxpayers close to $9,000,000 yearly. It's now generally acknowledged in Saïgon that he'll have to be deposed sooner or later.

But whether sooner or whether later he, like many other political figures in that bled and corrupt land, will never starve. According to an official report of the Indochinese Exchange Control, Bao Dai and his Empress "transferred 176 million francs (half a million dollars) to Europe as early as 1949, and bought themselves a sumptuous villa in Cannes and an estate in the Belgian Congo."

The highest estimate of support that anyone claims Bao Dai enjoys among the Vietnamese people is twenty per cent (*New York Times*, November 8, 1953). And even that small percentage seems to be withering away. A dispatch on October 20, 1953, in the *Christian Science Monitor* declared:

> Both the French and Bao Dai himself must feel that they are standing on shifting sand. The question now is just how long either, or both, can manage to keep on their feet and parry the blows of Indo-China's growing *non-Communist* nationalism. (Author's italics)

Behind all this lies the sorry economic, educational, and social record which the French have chalked up in this colony of theirs. In pre-colonial days in Indo-China there had been total literacy. During French rule it dropped to 20 per cent. (By contrast, illiteracy has been declared a punishable offense in places where Vietminh rule has been stabilized and, according to the *New Statesman and Nation*, a great land redistribution program, benefiting the peasants, has been put into effect in those areas.) Today the characteristic poverty always found in colonies has been aggravated by an inflation so astronomical that the cost of living in Saigon is probably the highest of any city in the world. Everyone has to live as much as possible on the black market. Even the paychecks of the personnel at the American Embassy, MSA, and other US agencies are openly cashed at the black-market rate of exchange. Trade unions, still extremely weak, did not enjoy legal status until July, 1952, when, under the pressure of American officials worried about Communist infiltration and exploitation of misery, a new labor code became law in Vietnam.

WIDESPREAD CORRUPTION

This code, however, does not cover agricultural and plantation labor—the overwhelming bulk of the working force. (The twenty biggest rubber plantations, mainly French-owned, each employ over 35,000 workers.) During an interview in Saigon an MSA official complained that the recently enacted Agrarian Reform Act—low-interest loans to permit farmers to buy their lands and to emerge from generations of usury—has not been implemented because, he said, "the big landowners *are* the Government." The tax-collection machinery is both inadequate and corrupt: the saying goes that many merchants seldom pay taxes—

only bribes. On really important matters the degree of authority exercised by Bao Dai's puppet regime and by the kings of Laos and Cambodia was brought to light on May 10, 1953, when the French authorities (crude colonizers, lacking the British finesse!) merely "notified" the three governments several hours before Paris devalued the Indo-Chinese piastre.

The political prisons are filled with persons who take too strenuous exception to French rule. Last May excerpts leaked out from a secret report of a four-deputy commission from the French National Assembly accusing the French bureaucracy in Indo-China of establishing a "virtual dictatorship." From Paris on May 24 a United Press dispatch quoted the report as saying that "an inefficient, unwieldly bureaucracy, shot through with rivalries and self-interest, is daily alienating the loyal Vietnam population and lessening the chances of victory over the Communists. . . . Such a regime cannot endure."

As is always the case under an imperialistic dispensation, *some* French business interests are profiteering, while France as a whole is being ruined by the war. Indeed, even Adlai Stevenson—I say "even" because he fully supports this colonial war—said during his Asian trip that "certain French business men are making such exorbitant profits that they would rather see the war drag on." Who can be so willfully blind as not to foresee in Indo-China a possible repetition of Chiang Kai-shek's grand finale on the mainland of China—except that I doubt that Bao Dai could get enough last-ditch followers to fill a rump island.

And what precisely are we backing and who precisely are we fighting in Indo-China—yes, we Americans with our newly upped billion-dollar "ante" for two-thirds of the current year's fighting budget, we with our napalm and our bombers, we with our military advisors and the "keep fighting" orders from our Nixons and diplomats? According to a sentence that slipped into a sweetness-and-light editorial in the *New York Times* of December 8, 1953, Jawaharlal Nehru told Richard Nixon face to face in New Delhi that the USA is supporting colonialism in Indo-China and Africa. So much for our allies. And our enemies? An Associated Press dispatch in the *Tokyo Evening News* of December 20, 1952, quoted a high-ranking French officer as giving out the "generally agreed" estimate that only 20 per cent of the Vietminh guerrillas are absolute Communists. The rest are "taught next to nothing about the theory of Marxism or Stalinism." They are nationalists who simply want the French and Americans to go home. Like everyone else in Asia they feel that they can handle the Communists "once the national question is settled."

SPIRIT OF NATIONALISM

On December 11, 1953, while being interviewed by several CBS correspondents on the Capitol Cloakroom broadcast, Brig. General Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines was asked the usual loaded half-truth question about "the Communist menace" in Indo-China. In so far as there are any ardent pro-Americans among Asians today, Romulo is certainly to be counted in that small and

exclusive circle. Yet even he challenged the questioner, and for the only time during the half-hour broadcast his voice became charged with emotion. He had visited Indo-China before the war, he said, and had met the nationalist leaders. Among them he had found great admiration for America, and they were anticipating American support for their independence demands. Now, he said, many of these leaders had become Communists, having had to look elsewhere when U.S. support was not forthcoming.

If the Philippines, Romulo continued, had had to prolong after 1946 its struggle for independence from America, no doubt today "I would find myself being called a Communist." Set a date for Indo-China's full independence, he passionately urged—a definite date, and then support for the elite Communist leadership will begin to drop away. Says Nehru on the same point: "If you support colonial domination and colonialism—apart from doing a wrong thing you encourage and strengthen the very forces [of Communism] you apparently think you are contending against."

By now every newspaper reader knows that after a death toll of 48,000 the French people have become wearier of their seven-year war in Indo-China than even we became of our three-year war in Korea. *They Want Out.* But not only did Vice President Nixon tell his "loyal" Vietnamese hosts that the United States wants them to tone down their independence demands and to remain in the French Union (*New York Times,* November 3 and 5, 1953). In a speech at Hanoi on November 4 he also declared firm U.S. opposition to a negotiated peace and told the Vietnamese and the French that they could not lay down their arms "until victory is completely won." (Yet French Premier Joseph Laniel clearly stated in Parliament that France was *not seeking* an unconditional surrender and would be happy to find an "honorable and diplomatic solution" to the war). And from the Bermuda Conference came reliable reports that the U.S. is seriously considering extending the "Truman Doctrine" to Indo-China if (like the overextended British in Greece in 1947) the French give any sign of pulling out.

IMPERIALISM QUESTIONED

This, then, is the dangerous pass to which we have been brought by the enormous, the imperial, the war-making power of white America—war-making power in a world that is weary of war and wishes only to be left alone by both Washington and Moscow. These facts about the war (and there are many more—about Foreign Legion brutalities, for example) expose the terrible power of the daily press to lead readers to conclusions about Asian events which not only Asians but also Westerners on the spot know only too well to be false. This, then, shows Negroes that many of their domestic "friends" who shout the loudest in and out of government for FEPC are, out of the other side of their mouths, desperately backing atomic foreign policies which have as their sole aim the maintenance of their unduly high American standard of living—even if every last starving Asian and African has to die in our wars fight-

ing for it. What a pity, Voltaire once said, that the good patriot should so often be the enemy of the rest of mankind!

And quite possibly it will not matter one whit to these oligarchs that the Gallup Poll last September found that 85 per cent of the American people don't want troops sent to Indo-China. In his speech before the American Legion last September Mr. Dulles made it abundantly clear that if the chips are down—that is, if Indo-China is in danger of being "lost" (new ugly, imperialist word in our presumptuous and insolent vocabulary)—we may awaken some fine morning to find ourselves again "fighting aggression" in Asia. Already on December 8, 1953, as the military situation in Vietnam became steadily graver, a *New York Herald Tribune* dispatch reported Eisenhower's "tentative decision to increase considerably the size of the American military mission in Indo-China."

MILITARY METHODS

Yet by now we certainly ought to know that military methods are destined to humiliating failure against what the *Times* of London once called the "great prestige and romantic appeal" of the Vietminh, which at night controls the rice paddies and villages while by day the French troops have to content themselves with more or less controlling the macadam roads. There are no real battle lines in this war. As General Mark Clark said during his visit to Indo-China last March: "The enemy is everywhere, coming through the walls, the ceilings and the floors." Vietminh guerillas hold positions around and behind the French.

Newly returned to the States, I have one question for myself and my fellow Americans: What are we going to do about all this? Among informed persons of liberal bent there almost seems to be a conspiracy of silence about not only the internal slavery to which our witchhunters are leading us step by step but also about the slavery's external counterpart: namely, the counter-revolutionary direction of America's policies among the darker peoples.

About the only unequivocal voice I have heard is that of Professor Lynd. In the same above-quoted article ("Whose Wars?") in *The Nation* of December 27, 1952 he concluded:

> What does integrity in a democratic context prompt young men to do in the present international situation? Suppose, for instance, a young man called up for military service were to say, without cowardice and in all honesty: "This is 1952. You, my country to which I am deeply committed, have brought me up to believe in democracy and have educated me to act responsibly. I cannot become a soldier in your wars until you convince me that more war in the present state of the world is intelligent and democratically responsible. . . ."

When and how in this managed society of "top secrets" and public-relations hand-outs does a citizen brace his feet and ask "Why?"

■ **Paragraph reviews of books written by Negro authors during 1953**

Books by Negro Authors, 1953

By Arthur B. Spingarn

THIS résumé (the eighteenth annual one published in *The Crisis*), following the practice adopted by its compiler in previous years, notices all books and pamphlets in English by colored authors (in accordance with the United States definition of "colored") published during 1953 that have come to his attention. It includes a few that appeared in 1952 and which he saw too late to include in last year's résumé. It is obviously incomplete and, as heretofore, omits mention of works in foreign languages (except those written by natives of the United States), some of which are important. No comments are made on books that have been reviewed in *The Crisis* (other than to indicate where such reviews may be found), or on the separately listed pamphlets.

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN, *whose hobby is collecting Negro books, is president of the NAACP.*

I. BOOKS

ABBAS, MEKKI. The Sudan Question. London: Faber & Faber Ltd. 201pp 21/

An account of the dispute over the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium from 1884 to 1951 by a Sudanese. The first book known to the compiler written in English by a native of the Sudan.

ABRAHAMS, PETER. Return to Goli. London: Faber & Faber Ltd. 224pp 12/6

A factual account of what this successful novelist saw and felt on his return to his native Johannesburg after a fourteen year residence in Europe. Absorbing, human, and disturbing.

ARNOLD, ETHEL NISHUA. She Knew No Evil. New York. Vantage Press Inc. 76pp $2.50

A novel originally published as a serial in the Cleveland Call & Post. Its chief merit is its brevity.

BALDWIN, JAMES. Go Tell It On The Mountain. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 303pp $3.50

Reviewed in The Crisis for December 1953 at page 637.

BARBER, JESSE BELMONT. Climbing Jacob's Ladder. New York: Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church. 103pp $0.50

The story of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. among Negroes: a revision of an academic study submitted for a master's degree at Auburn Theological Seminary.

BLAKELY, AL ETHELBRED. Convoy to India. Brooklyn: Trilon Press. 214pp $3.00

Purports to be the diary kept by the author (Alfred E. Blake) during a 15-month stretch in the army. Unorganized and poorly done.

BREWER, J. MASON. The Word of the Brazos: Negro preacher tales from the Brazos Bottoms of Texas. Foreword by J. Frank Dobie. Austin: University of Texas Press. $3.50

"Preacher" tales many of which were gathered by this distinguished folklorist while working as a field hand on a Brazos plantation; including stories told by ministers to illustrate their sermons as well as tales told about them.

BROOKS, GWENDOLYN. Maud Martha. New York: Harper & Brothers. 180 pp $2.50

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for February 1954 at page 114.

BUTLER, ANNA LAND. Album of Love Letters (Unsent) Volume I Morning til noon. New York: Margaret Press. 63pp $2.00

A first book by an attractive young woman whose letters if sent would be welcomed by many a young man.

CAMPBELL, JAMES S. and STILLS, GORDON H. Temporary Reprieve. Baltimore: The Authors. 46pp

A collection of poems by two seniors at Morgan College, illustrated by another senior, Bernard C. Byrd. Has considerable merit though none of the participants has as yet quite mastered his medium.

CAMPBELL, SIMMS. Chorus of Cuties. New York: Avon Publishing Co. Inc. 188pp $0.25

One hundred and eighty-five amusing drawings by this famous cartoonist.

COWARD, GLADYS MCFADDEN. See How They Play. New York: Exposition Press. 51pp $2.00

A pictorial tour through an orchestra told in verse. Illustrated by the author.

CRAWFORD, ISAAC. Weeds and Other Poems. Brooklyn: The Author. 61pp $2.00

Like his earlier volume, published in 1916, the sentiments expressed, if not the poetry, are commendable.

DAVIS, STANLEY A. This is Liberia. New York. 151pp $3.50

A superficial history and survey of Liberia, together with an autobiographical account of the author.

ELLISON, JOHN MALCUS. Tensions and Destiny. Richmond: John Knox Press. 135pp $2.00

Religious essays, sermons, and prayers of unusual eloquence by the President of Virginia Union University.

FISHER, MILES MARK. Negro Slave Songs in the United States. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. XV+223pp $4.00

A valuable study, published for the American Historical Association, which brings to light new data on the Spirituals, their authors, their dates, places of origin and their messages. An important work on the subject.

FISHER, WILLIAM. The Waiters. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company. 295pp $3.75

A novel about an ambitious scoundrel. The dialogue is good, the love

episode is well told, and the book throughout reveals aspects of the trade unknown to the public and creates a feeling of reality.

FORTEN, CHARLOTTE L. The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten. Edited by Roy Allen Billington. New York: The Dryden Press. 248pp $5.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October 1953 at page 505.

FRANKLIN, CARL. Portrait of Man. A love poem. New York: Exposition Press (1952). $2.00

Another first volume of verse—subject love.

GOODWIN, BERKELEY RUBY. It's Good to be Black. Doubleday & Co. 256pp $3.50

The autobiography of a talented young woman reared among fortunate surroundings; warm hearted and optimistic but marred somewhat by racial chauvinism.

GROVES, JOHN WESLEY. Pyrric Victory. Philadelphia. 1953. 60pp $1.50

A collection of short stories.

GRAHAM, SHIRLEY. The Story of Pocohantos. New York: Grossett & Dunlap. 180pp $1.50

A combination of history, legend, and fiction about the famous Indian maiden who is reputed to have saved the life of Captain John Smith. It is designed for and should delight children from 8 to 12.

GRAHAM, SHIRLEY. Jean Baptiste Pointe De Sable: Founder of Chicago. New York: Julian Messner. $2.75

The story of the Haitian pioneer who founded the city of Chicago written by Mrs. W. E. B. DeBois with her usual combination of imagination and history. A worthy addition to her extensive list of biographies of famous Negroes.

GUZMAN, JESSE PARKHURST. Negro Yearbook: A review of events affecting Negro life. 11th ed. New York: Wm. H. Wise. XXII+424pp $4.00.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for March 1953 at page 185.

HARGRAVE, CARRY GUERPHAN. A Visit with Jean and Tom in Casablanca, Africa. New York: Exposition Press. 103pp $2.50

An accurate and well written story of Arab life in Morocco in fictional form designed for young folk by one who has firsthand knowledge of the subject.

HAYNES, LEONARD L. JR. The Negro Community Within American Protestantism 1618-1844. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 264pp $4.00

Professor Haynes in this book essays not only a history of the subject, but a survey of economic, political and social forces affecting race relations.

HIMES, CHESTER. Cast the First Stone. New York: Coward-McCann Inc. 346 pp $3.75

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for April 1953 at page 246.

HOUGH, FLORENZ H. Black Paradise. A novel. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company. 236pp $3.00

A callow and scurilous libel on Washington Negro society. A "vanity" book without merit.

HOWEIDY, A. Concise Hausa Grammer. Oxford, England: George Ronald Wheatley. 232pp 15/

The first scientific grammatical analysis of Hausa written by a native, who is an assistant lecturer at the Oxford University of Colonial Studies.

HUGHES, CARL MILTON. The Negro Novelist. New York: The Citadel Press. 283pp $4.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for February 1954 at page 114.

HUGHES, LANGSTON. Simple Takes a Wife. New York: Simon & Schuster. 241pp $1.95

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October 1953 at page 506.

JAMES, C. L. R. Mariners, Renegades and Castaways: The story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In. New York: The Author. 204pp $1.00

An interpretation of Melville by a greatly gifted writer related to his experiences (written during his detention on Ellis Island) resisting deportation to his native Trinidad.

KENNEDY, MARK. The Pecking Order. New York: Appleton-Century Crafts Inc. 278pp $3.50

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for November 1953 at page 573.

LAMMING, GEORGE. In the Castle of My Skin. New York: McGraw-Hill. XII+313pp $3.75

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for February 1954 at page 115.

LUCAS, CURTIS. Forbidden Fruit. New York: Universal Publishing. 135pp $0.35

A novel saturated with sex.

LYNN, EVA. To No Special Land: A book of poems. New York: Exposition Press. 64pp $3.00

A new volume of verse by the author (Evelyn C. Reynolds) of *No Alabastor Box and Other Poems* published in 1936. Mary McLoud has written a lauditory foreword.

MITTELHOLZER, EDGAR And Others. Caribbean Anthology of Short Stories. Kingston, Jamaica: The Pioneer Press. 148pp 3/6

Fifteen stories by fourteen natives of Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, British Guiana, Panama, and the Canal Zone. Some of more than ordinary merit.

MACHADO DE ASSIS. Don Casmurro. A novel. New York: The Noonday Press. 283pp $3.50

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October 1953 at page 505.

MOPELI, A. S., PAULUS, PETER LANHAM. Blanket Boy. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 309pp $3.50

A fine and moving novel of South African life by an Englishman based on an original story by a Chieftan of Basutoland. It has been enthusiastically received both in England (where it was published under the title *Blanket Boy's Moon*) and in the United States.

MCKAY, CLAUDE. Selected Poems of Claude McKay. New York: Bookman Associates. 112pp $2.75

A representative selection of this much admired poet's verse made by him before his death in 1948.

MCKETNEY, EDWIN CHARLES. Mr. Big. New York: Pageant Press. 74pp $3.00

A prose play in three acts based on the numbers racket and the illicit traffic in drugs.

MCMILLAN, LEWIS K. Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina. Orangeburg, S. C.: The Author. 296pp $5.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for December 1953 at page 635.

OGILVIE, W. G. Cactus Village. Kingston, Jamaica: The Pioneer Press 171 pp 3/6

A realistic novel of peasant life in Jamaica.

OSABEDAY, DENNIS CHUKUDE. Africa Sings. Ilfracombe (England): Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd. 104pp 10/

A volume of verse by a native of Africa now residing in England. Of

more than usual merit.

PADMORE, GEORGE. The Gold Coast Revolution: The struggle of an African people from slavery to freedom. London: Dennis Dobson Ltd. 272pp 12/6

Distributed in N. Y. by Bristol Book Center $3.00.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for January 1954 at page 53.

PETRY, ANNE. The Narrows. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co. 428pp $3.95

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for December 1953 at page 636.

QUARLES, BENJAMIN. The Negro in the Civil War. Boston: Little Brown & Company 379pp $5.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for February 1954 at page 113.

REDDICK, L. D. Introductory Note to Emancipation Symphony by Beethoven. Atlanta, Ga.: The Fuller Press. 70pp $1.50

A poem by an Armenian-American about John Brown with a long introduction (pp5 to 23) by L. D. Reddick.

SALMON, LISA. Frankie Frog: Nonsense Rhymes and Sketches. Kingston, Jamaica: The Pioneer Press. 3/6

SCOTT, NATHAN A., JR. Rehearsals and Discomposure. Alienation and personalization in modern literature. New York: Kings Crown Press. 294 pp $4.00

Four erudite and highly competent essays on Kafka, Silone, D. H. Lawrence, and T. S. Eliot using the methods and approach of the new criticism.

SMYTHWICK, CHARLES A., JR. False Measure. New York: The William-Frederick Press. $3.50

A satirical novel.

SPELLMAN, C. L. Rough Steps on my Stairway: The life history of a Negro Educator. New York: The Exposition Press. 273pp $3.50

A not over modest autobiography of a Ph.D. educator who has taught in a number of southern schools and colleges.

TAYLOR, GLORIA LEE. Dreams for Sale: Poems. New York: Exposition Press. 64pp $2.50

Still another first volume of verse—subject love.

TAYLOR, S. A. G. Buccaneer Boy. Kingston, Jamaica: The Pioneer Press. 243 pp 5/

A romance of privateering in the late seventeenth century in Jamaica and on the mainland of Central America.

THOMAS, WILL. The Seeking. New York: A. A. Wyn Inc. 290pp $3.50

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October 1953 at page 504.

THURMAN, HOWARD. Meditations of the Heart. New York: Harper & Brothers. 216pp $2.75

A new collection of meditations by a distinguished theologian in the same vein as his widely acclaimed *Deep is the Hunger*, published in 1951.

TOBIAS, CHANNING. In Thirteen Americans: Their spiritual autobiography. Edited by Louis Finkelstein. New York: Harper & Brothers. $3.00

An inspiring account of Dr. Tobias' spiritual life (pp 177 to 199) in a publication of the Institute for Religion and Social Studies.

TOLSON, MELVIN B. Libretto for the Republic of Liberia. New York: Twayne Publishers Inc. Unpaged $2.75

For its Centennial Liberia chose Duke Ellington to write the music and Prof. Tolson the libretto. The distinguished critic and poet, Allen Tate, in his preface to this poem (in effect a Pindaric Ode) ascribes to it "a great

gift of language, profound historical sense and a first rate intelligence at work first to last."

TURNER, RUFUS P. Basic Electronic Test Instruments. New York: Rinehart & Company.

The second technical book published by a successful electronic engineer who practices his profession in Los Angeles.

TUTUOLA. The Palm-Wine Drinkard. New York: The Grove Press. 130pp $2.75

This book first published in the U.S. in 1953 was published in London in 1952 and was commented upon in *The Crisis* for February 1953.

WAMBLE, THELMA. All in the Family New York: New Voicer Publishing Company. 199pp $3.50

In this novel the author has not quite succeeded in bringing her characters to life or mastering her plot.

WARD, THOMAS P. The Right to Live. New York: Pageant Press. $3.00

A novel about the aspirations and struggles of a Negro boy.

WATSON, NANA. Reap the Harvest. New York: The William-Frederick Press. 31pp $2.00

A first volume of verse which has more passion than poetry.

WHITE, AMOS JEROME and LUELLA GRAHAM WHITE. Dawn in Bantuland: An African Experiment. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 297pp $3.50

The account of the experiences, reminiscences, and reflections of a husband and wife who for four years were A.M.E. missionaries in Africa.

WRIGHT, RICHARD. The Outsider. New York: Harper & Brothers. 405pp $3.95

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for June-July 1953 at page 381.

YERBY, FRANK. The Devil's Laughter. New York: The Dial Press. 376pp $3.50

Another novel—his eighth fabulous annual success—by the so called Modern Dumas. This one a romance of the French Revolution.

YOUNG, A. S. "Doc". Great Negro Baseball Stars and How They Made the Major Leagues. New York: Barnes & Noble. 248pp $1.00 paper; $2.50 cloth

The story of the Negro in baseball from the first break through the barriers to the present told by a veteran sport reporter.

II. PAMPHLETS

Among the pamphlets published in 1953 that have come to the compiler's attention the following may be noted:

ABIDI, BOAFO J. Modern Problem in the Gold Coast: Elementary School. Mampong Akwopim, Gold Coast

ANKRAH, ROY. My Life Story. Accra, Gold Coast

APEAUDU, KWAFO. The Cooperative Movement. London

COBB, W. MONTAGUE. Louis Tompkins Wright 1892-1952. New York

COBB, W. MONTAGUE. Medicine. Washington, D.C.

CURTIS, CONSTANCE & others. Harlem's Top People 1953

DAILY GRAPHIC. Proposal on Constitutional Reform. Accra, Gold Coast

EDU, J. E. Your Share in Local Government. Accra, Gold Coast

EQUAGOO, ROSE Y, First Justice, Then Peace in Connection with the Ewe and Togoland Unification Problem. Accra, Gold Coast

GOLD COAST YEAR BOOK 1953. Accra, Gold Coast

HENRY, EDWARD BARNES. The Prediction of a Great Leader in Fulfillment: Marcus Garvey. New York

HOLDER, J. N. Novel Afmerland. Verses to Remember. New York

HUNTON, ALPHAEUS. Resistance Against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa, with a postscript for America. New York

JACKSON, ESTHER COOPER. This is My Husband: Fighter for his people, Political Refugee. Brooklyn, N. Y.

MULIRA, E. M. K. The Vernacular in African Education. London

NAACP AND AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS: Civil Rights in the United States 1952 A Balance sheet of Group Relations. New York

NAACP — Segregation Disgrace of Democracy. New York

NAACP — Civil Rights Handbook. New York

NKRUMAH, KWAME. The New Stage (CP.P. versus Imperialism). Accra, Gold Coast

OPWA, ANTONIO. An East African Chief in England. Nairoba, Kenya

PERRY, PETTIS. The Communist Party. New York

PERRY, PETTIS. The Party of Negro and White. New York

TANNEYHILL, ANN. From School to Job. Guidance for minority youth. New York

WALLACE, RICHETTA G. (RANDOLPH). Mount Olivet Yesterday and Today: A panorama in five acts. New York

WESTERMAN, GEORGE W. Blocking Them at the Canal. Panama

WHITE, CHARLES. A Folio of Six Drawings. New York

WILLIAMS, FRANKLIN H. An American Principle realized. San Francisco

WRIGHT, LOUIS T. Various Medical Papers. New York

DID YOU KNOW —

That the first Negro poet to be employed to teach creative writing at a Negro university was the late James Weldon Johnson?

Mr. Johnson, author of several volumes of verse and whilom secretary of the NAACP, was appointed to the Adam K. Spence Chair of Creative Literature and Writing at Fisk University in January, 1932.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

ANNUAL MEETING

Spingarn Re-elected: Unanimously re-elected, Arthur B. Spingarn begins his 15th consecutive year as president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Spingarn was first elected to the post in 1940, succeeding his brother, the late Joel E. Spingarn. The board of directors again selected him to head the organization at its regular monthly session in New York City following the Association's annual meeting on January 4.

Also re-elected at that session were Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman, board of directors; Dr. Robert C. Weaver, vice-chairman; Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, Boston, treasurer; and Judge Theodore Spaulding, Philadelphia, assistant treasurer. In addition the following vice-presidents were elected: Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Rabbi Judah Cahn, Hon. Harry E. Davis, Mrs. Grace Fenderson, Oscar Hammerstein II, John Hammond, Prof. C. L. Harper, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. William Lloyd Imes, Dr. Allen F. Jackson, Hon. Ira W. Jayne, Eric Johnston, Eugene Martin, Dr. O. Clay Maxwell, Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, Hon. Wayne Morse, T. G. Nutter, A. Philip Randolph, Ike Smalls, Williard S. Townsend, Bishop W. J. Walls, and Samuel Williams.

Staff executives re-named by the board were Walter White, executive secretary; Roy Wilkins, administrator; Thurgood Marshall, special counsel; and Henry Lee Moon, director, public relations.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS

The results of the referendum of the branches for the selection of 16 members of the board were announced at the annual meeting preceding the board session. Z. Alexander Looby, a member of the Association's national legal committee and of the City Council of Nashville, and Kivie Kaplan, vice-president and general manager of the Colonial Tanning Company of Boston and co-chairman of the new NAACP life membership committee, are the two newly elected members of the board.

Re-elected to three-year terms each were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Joel E. Spingarn, Senator Herbert Lehman, Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, Dr. Algernon D. Black, all of New York City.

Also Theodore M. Berry, member, City Council, Cincinnati; Roscoe Dunjee, editor, *The Black Dispatch*, Oklahoma City; Dr. J. Leonidas Leach, Flint, Mich.; Alfred Baker Lewis, Greenwich, Conn.; Dr. James J. McClendon, Detroit; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. Jessie Vann, publisher, *The Courier*, Pittsburgh; and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

STAFF REPORTS

The annual meeting, attended by about 150 leaders of the Association in the states and localities, heard reports from the executive officers on the activities of 1953 and plans for the future. Mr. White optimistically reported that "the year 1953 marked the nearest approach and witnessed the greatest gains of the NAACP toward the goals set by its founders in 1909." For the first time in four years, Mr. Wilkins reported, the Association incurred no operating deficit and completed the year with a surplus of income over operating expenditures.

Gains made on the Washington front by executive action and the legislative stalemate in that city were reported by Clarence Mitchell, director Washington bureau. Mr. Mitchell warned that continuing mistreatment of Negro servicemen by prejudiced civilian officials in the South "no doubt" occasions many a "chuckle within the Kremlin walls."

BLUEPRINT FOR LEGAL ACTION

While concentrating on the public school education cases, the legal department "still managed to keep its overall legal program going, map out a blueprint for future action and extend its activities into other areas," Mr. Marshall told the annual meeting.

Plans were developed by NAACP staff lawyers with the aid of members of the national legal committee for accelerating the legal attack upon segregation in education, transportation, employment, housing and places of public accommodation, the Association's special counsel reported. He also called attention to the newly published "NAACP Civil Rights Handbook," made possible by a grant from the Prince Hall Masons.

More than $70,000 were raised and contributed to the legal expenses involved in the public school cases, Mr. Marshall said in expressing appreciation for the cooperation received from "our branches, state conferences, the entire Negro press, individuals and groups of individuals who contributed" to these cases. "Regardless of what the decision of the Supreme Court will be, we have found from these cases that our organization and good-thinking people throughout the country and the entire Negro press, once alerted to the issue, will roll up their sleeves and work toward the common goal."

"It is most interesting to note," he said, "that in public statements and newspaper articles throughout the South we find over and over again the

public admission of the 'white supremacy' group and of the white people in general of the South that they fully realize that segregation is on its way out and will be removed one way or another."

OTHER REPORTS

Other reports were submitted by Gloster B. Current, director of branches; Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant; James W. Ivy, editor, *The Crisis;* Herbert Wright, youth secretary; Rev. Walter P. Offutt, Jr., church secretary; and Henry Lee Moon, director of public relations.

FINANCES IN BLACK

The end of 1953 found the finances of the Association in the black, instead of the red, according to a report to the annual meeting by Roy Wilkins, administrator.

Mr. Wilkins read a report which included all business through December 24 showing a surplus of $22,916. Total receipts for the period were $391,341 and total expenditures $368,425. Of the receipts, $248,440 came from branches of the NAACP in the form of memberships alone.

Mr. Wilkins, who is budget director of the NAACP, stressed that the report was not complete through December 31, and was not audited as of January 4 when the annual meeting was held. He said, however, that the expenditures and income of the last seven days of the year and the adjustments and corrections of the certified public accountants to be made later are not expected to alter the surplus position, although the amount may not be the same as the December 24 figure.

PRINCE HALL MASONS

Contributions: Presentation of contributions totaling $12,472.68 were made to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund here on January 4 by two of the top leaders of the Prince Hall Masons in the South. The contributions were accepted on behalf of the Legal Fund by Thurgood Marshall, the fund's director.

John G. Lewis, Jr., grand master, Prince Hall Grand Lodge F. and A. M. of Louisiana, presented on behalf of his organization a check for $5,972.68. John Wesley Dobbs, who holds a similar office with the fraternal order in Georgia brought from that state $6,500 for the Legal Defense Fund —$5,000 from the Georgia Masons; $1,000 from the State Teacher and Educations Association; $200, Georgia Negro Voters League; and $100 each from Mr. Dobbs, himself, John P. Whittaker and S. L. Greene, all of Atlanta.

MARSHALL DINNER

Testimonial Dinner: Calvert Distillers employees tendered Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, a testimonial dinner at the Hotel Astor, New York

City, on December 16, 1953. More than $4,000 was raised at the dinner and there was an attendance of 1,000 civic and business leaders from New York and New Jersey. Also presented was a check from the Calvert Distillers Corporation and from the Calvert "Men of Distinction," independent business men who have been named by Calvert over the past two years to appear in its famous advertising series.

"Today, when there is a cynical trend away from democracy, it is inspiring to see a man like Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP fighting prejudice and bigotry and working to revitalize our Bill of Rights." This assertion was made by the executive vice-president of Calvert Distillers Corporation, Tubie Resnik. He also declared: "As long as there are people like Mr. Marshall, I decline most fervently to accept the end of liberty in America."

Mr. Resnik, discussing the pending education cases before the U. S. Supreme Court, said that "more and more Americans are beginning to advocate that under the Constitution there should be no such thing as 'separate but equal' education."

He also said that more people of all races, color and creed are beginning to realize "that the NAACP struggle for equality is indivisible, for it concerns even the least of us."

Presiding at the dinner was Joseph Makel, Public Relations Director of Calvert, and speakers included:

Hulan Jack, Borough President of Manhattan

Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley, Secretary of Board of Estimate

Mrs. Bertha J. Diggs, Secretary to New York State Labor Commission

Arthur B. Spingarn, President of NAACP.

Besides Mr. Resnik, representing Calvert at the dinner were: Walter F. Terry, vice-president; Harry Fox, Empire Division Manager; Jack Glasser, Director of Trade Relations; and Market Managers: Gladstone Cotterall, Horace Griffith, Bernard D. O'Dell, Isaac E. Dupre, Munger R. Carr, Simeon M. Davie, St. Clair Rogers, Henry A. Dumouil, Theodore F. Albritton, Harry Waugh, Julius A. Lee, James Young, Ulysses Z. Williams, Walter Taylor, Norman Walker.

Representing the Calvert Men of Distinction at the dinner were: Albert Lindsey, electrical engineer, East Orange; Joel Rogers, historian, New York City; George Olden, art director, New York City; Reginald Matthews, lawyer of New York City.

Mr. Marshall remarked:

I want to thank some of the people who have worked with us and are here tonight. First there is Father Bishop, my spiritual adviser. He represents to my mind a very important segment of our community insofar as the NAACP cases are concerned. We would not be able to have these cases but for the churches, the doors of which were always open to meetings. When we have the Church on our side, we do not have to worry.

There is Grand Master Giddings of Prince Hall Masons of this state, my Grand Master. The Negro Masons have set up a legal research fund in the past two years and they have contributed about $24,000 a year. Again I say when we

have people like that on our side we do not have to worry. There is also here Mrs. Lampkin and Mrs. Vann, symbols of the Negro press which has opened up its columns to us. And that costs money. If you do not believe it costs money, ask the sponsors of this dinner, Calvert Distillers. Ask them what an ad costs. But we of the NAACP got the space for nothing.

The Negro press of this country took it upon itself to raise money for the cases and the Negro press has raised considerable money.

The Negro paper that has raised the most money happens to be the *Courier*, and they have raised over $15,000—and the money came in to us, not to the *Courier*.

One very significant thing is Calvert's participation. It is important to me that an important business establishment believes in the things we believe in and that is not common at the present time. The reason it is important to me is because I look to the future and do not look to the past. I believe in the future. . . . The other thing that is important tonight is that we raised most of the money we got from contributions from people of all races, all groups, all levels. . . . Thanks to them and the thousands of other people who are supporting the Association.

THEY JOIN THE FIGHT—*Branch president Robert Brown (left) of the Port Chester, Rye, New York, branch presents a $100 contribution to the Fighting Fund for Freedom through Richard W. McClain, NAACP chief accountant. Others in the picture (from left) are Mrs. Effie Gordon, president New York state conference of branches; and James Keeler, branch treasurer.*

Editorials

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

THE CRISIS believes that every American Negro will agree with the NAACP objectives for full emancipation by January 1, 1963. Goal of "The Fight for Freedom" is to clean up the remnants of the heritage of slavery and to make of Negroes first-class American citizens.

The Negro and the NAACP want an America free of racial discrimination and segregation; an America which judges individual merit and qualifications for jobs and positions; an America which permits every citizen free access to the ballot in local and national elections; an America in which it is possible for every citizen to choose where he will live on the basis of his income and personal worth; an America where every citizen can travel from one end of the country to the other without suffering the humiliation of jim crow and segregation in public conveyances; and an America where every citizen is secure from mob violence and police brutality.

We have made tremendous advances since Emancipation, but all too many Americans do not realize the handicaps which remain. Seventeen states have statutes which make Negroes second-class citizens. Twenty-eight states have laws against inter-marriage of whites and Negroes. We are still herded into ghettos and we are still the ready victims of mob violence and police brutality. We still get the dirtiest and lowest-paying jobs and 36 states still lack laws to assure us job opportunity.

Yes, much remains to be done. And support of the NAACP's Fight for Freedom with money and action will help us achieve our goal of full emancipation by 1963.

DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

THE question of adequate housing is one of the most important facing Negroes. Despite the outlawing of restrictive covenants (last legal stratagem of the bigots) by the United States Supreme Court and the existence of many racially-mixed public and private housing projects, a Negro cannot, in many parts of the country, choose to live in a house that he is able to pay for. In Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Levitt and Sons, builders of the jim-crow Long Island Levittown, are busy building an all-white Levittown, Pennsylvania.

The situation in Bucks County is doubly vicious because the new housing is being built with FHA-insured mortgages and because the exclusion of Negro residents severely restricts Negro job opportunities in the new U. S. Steel plant. The Bucks County problem was one of several taken up with President Eisenhower at a White House conference with NAACP leaders on January 13.

What expansion of housing discrimination may do is nullify many of the legal gains which Negroes have made in their fight against segregation.

Restrict Negroes to certain urban residential areas and you create ghettos, which in turn sprout the usual segregated community facilities.

However, the picture is not all dark. Race prejudice and ignorance are behind much of the effort to keep Negroes cooped up in "black belts." Often it is the panic fear of whites that a "Negro invasion" will depreciate the value of their property. But in recent years there have been serious studies of the effects of integrated housing on property values and they have found that the old story about Negro occupancy lowering property values is false. Studies of integrated housing projects in New York City, Portland, Oregon; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Toledo and Youngstown, Ohio; and Los Angeles, California, reveal that so far from integration lowering property values that they have usually raised them.

Just recently Federal District Judge Thomas P. Thornton ordered admission of Negroes to the Colonel Hamtramck Homes, a low-rent public housing project in Hamtramck, a Detroit, Michigan, suburb, which had previously banned Negro occupancy. This ruling is the second housing victory of the NAACP Detroit branch.

Discrimination in housing can be licked if local communities are alert to the problem and have a program for fighting it.

EUGENE KINCKLE JONES

EUGENE KINCKLE JONES died at his home in Flushing, Queens, New York, on January 11 at the age of 68. For 39 years he was connected with the National Urban League, for 30 years as executive secretary and for 9 years as general secretary.

Mr. Jones was born in Richmond, Virginia. He attended Virginia Union University, from which he was graduated with the degree of A. B., and received the degree of M. A. from Cornell University. Later his alma mater gave him an honorary LL. D. After a teaching stint in Louisville, Kentucky, Mr. Jones became the executive secretary of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (founded in 1910) and its sole full-time employee. When he retired the League had 58 affiliates in 29 states and a staff of 399.

Mr. Jones began his work at a period when neither business nor industry realized that a large part of the American laboring force is Negro. Most business and industrial executives of the time were either too ignorant or too prejudiced to acknowledge this. Negro workers did not have even a toe-hold in industry and when they did get in temporarily they were brought in by "union-busting" employers as strike breakers, which certainly did not endear them to white unionists or white labor generally. And during this early period there was no CIO, no national nor state FEPC, and preciously little civil rights legislation.

These were the barriers which Mr. Jones sought to destroy through his organization and the measure of his success is seen in the improved racial relations in American industry and business. In the death of this intelligent, soft-spoken man, America suffers a great loss.

What the Branches Are Doing

Alabama: The second annual southeast regional conference of NAACP branches, youth councils, and college chapters will meet in Savannah, Georgia, February 26-28. According to Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeast regional secretary, the conference will feature leadership training, workshops, speeches and discussions of the Association's goal of full freedom by 1963.

California: The legal redress committee of the LOS ANGELES branch wrote a letter (with attached document) to Mayor Norris Loulson of that city in December setting forth the facts, as well as the applicable law, about the policy of racial segregation in the assignment of personnel to the various fire stations in the city. All firemen of Negro ancestry who are assigned to duty at fire stations are assigned to two stations on Central Avenue. All officers of Negro ancestry are assigned to these same two stations. And these assignments are made solely on the basis of race.

The only exceptions to this segregative policy is the case of four Negro employees who are assigned to fire prevention work and another who is employed in the bureau of supply and maintenance.

Protests against this policy have been lodged by various organizations, including the Los Angeles Urban League and the NAACP, almost continuously for more than five years. These protests culminated with the filing of a petition by Mrs. Jack Hardy, Dr. Claude Hudson, Dr. E. I. Robinson, and Allan Woodard, all citizens and taxpayers, urging the elimination of all racial segregation by the Fire Department, on which a hearing was held by the Board of Fire Commissioners on October 8, 1953. Although there were denials that the racial segregation resulted in discrimination, there were no denials of the racial segregation in assignments to fire stations. On December 10, 1953, the Board of Fire Commissioners received a report from Chief Alderman evidencing his belief in the validity of his policy. The Board thereupon adopted a resolution accepting that report and, in effect, confirming the racial segregation policy outlined above.

In response to an "all-out" appeal for the NAACP's "Fight for Freedom Crusade," the Rev. Mr. F. D. Haynes, minister of the SAN FRANCISCO Third Baptist church and president of the San Francisco Ministerial Alliance, issued a proclamation calling upon churches and laymen to support the Association. Rev. Mr. Haynes collected $100 from his own church.

The TUCSON, Arizona, branch, under the leadership of Lester Bailey, contributed $320 to the fighting fund for freedom.

Practically every Negro Protestant church in northern California observed Freedom Sunday in January with special prayers and special services, as well as special offerings, according to a report from the West Coast Regional Office.

The West Coast office also reports that the local freedom seal drive exceeded its goal with seal sales of $4,848.29.

Colorado: The DENVER branch wrote a letter to President Eisenhower on December 24 expressing its "very great concern with the mistreatment of our Negro soldiers in the Columbia, South Carolina, incident and also their treatment by discrimination in travel throughout the South."

Connecticut: The HARTFORD branch, under the leadership of president Vasco Hale, closed 1953 in grand style. President Hale reported better relationship between the branch and the Negro churches. Churches and organizations made the following contributions to the fund for freedom: Union Baptist, $59.58; Metropolitan AME Zion, $25; Mount Olive Baptist, $25; Shiloh Baptist, $12; Delta Sigma Theta sorority, $25; Nutmeg Lodge of Elks, $15; Excelsior Lodge No. 3 of the Masons, $10; and the Five Star Club, $5.

Illinois: The results of the election of officers of the Women's Auxiliary of the CHICAGO branch are as follows: Mary Ann Parker, president; Mattie Moore, first vice-president; Bessie Hoosier, second vice-president; Lucille White, secretary; Lorraine Piggott, corresponding secretary; Mamie Burns, financial secretary; Marguerite Ivy, assistant secretary; Jean McCray, treasurer; Cora Patton, parliamentarian; and Elizabeth Doty, chaplain. These officers were installed in January, 1954.

Iowa: The DES MOINES branch elected the following officers and board members: Archie Greenlee, president; George Wells, first vice-president; Lorraine Collins, second vice-president; Mrs. Guy Greene, secretary; Mrs. Herschel Hubbard, assistant secretary; James Morris, Jr., treasurer; and executive board members: Sadie Peters, Florence White, W. C. Buice, Delores Strange, Catherine Atkinson, Fred Morrow, Sr., Luther Glanton, Ike Smalls, Georgine Morris, Azalia Mitchell, Leland Ahern, James Rhodes, Guy Greene, Ella Porter, Mrs. David Krnedier, Jr., A. P. Trotter, Josephine Birthright, James Morris, Sr., Miles Mills, Jr., Wanda Mace, William Bell, Catherine Turner, Gwendolyn Fowler, Mrs. F. J. Weertz, Clara Bayles, Kingsley Murphy, Mrs. Robert Burlingame, and C. R. Ahern.

Maryland: A construction worker's gift of $500 cash to the BALTIMORE branch climaxed the annual membership campaign of the local branch which brought in more than 7,000 members and $21,000 to date.

Henry H. Gardner of 1627 Division Street was the donor. Married and the father of 11-year-old Wendell Gardner, Mr. Gardner declared: "I think giving this to the NAACP will be helping my son better than it would if I put it all in savings for him."

Asked as to what prompted his gift, Mr. Gardner revealed that he was born in Shreveport, Louisiana, and has lived throughout the south before coming to Baltimore. "I have lived as a Negro all my life. I know the conditions I live under. I've been a member of the Baltimore NAACP since its reorganization seventeen years ago. I've always given my memberships and gotten other memberships in the NAACP. I have seen how hard Mrs. Jackson has worked to help my people. A couple of months ago when I saw I was going to have it to give, I decided I would give it."

A member of Bethel AME church Mr. Gardner is second vice-president of the usher board. "Some people will think I'm crazy," he said; "I don't even have an automobile. I only have a truck loaded down with my equipment. But I think its more important to fight jim crow then to buy a car."

"I want my son to have the same rights as any white boy," he continued "This is an investment in my son's future and my people's future. I've

always given and I will continue to invest that much or more, if I can."

Mr. Gardner was one of the 300 citizens who traveled on the NAACP Freedom Train to Washington in 1948 to lobby with Maryland congressmen for an FEPC. Said he: "I liked the way Mrs. Jackson talked up to Congressman Fallon. I liked the speech of Congressman Powell."

Massachusetts: New officers of the BOSTON branch are Col. Larkland Hewitt, president; Herbert Tucker, Jr., vice-president; Mrs. Satyra Bennett, second vice-president; Frank Morris, Jr., third vice-president; Mrs. Ruth Batson, secretary; Mrs. Constance Eldred, assistant secretary; and Wilbur Bright, treasurer.

Minnesota: Carl T. Rowan of the *Minneapolis Tribune* was featured speaker at the December 20 meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch.

Ohio: Three officials of the COLUMBUS branch were among those picked as the ten outstanding men and women selected by the *Columbus Citizen,* local daily.

Dr. Watson Walker, a member of the executive board, was chosen one of the "Ten Men of the Year." Dr. Walker, who has just completed an outstanding job for the NAACP when he raised $585 in the local fighting fund for freedom effort, is an instructor in surgery at Ohio State University. This year he was admitted to the American College of Surgeons, some of the highest honors in the medical profession. He is also a member of the Ohio State Medical Association, the American Medical Association, and the Columbus Academy of Medicine.

Among the "Ten Women of the Year" were Mrs. Jeanne Radow, likewise a member of the executive board, and Dr. Alberta Turner, a member of the branch advisory committee. Mrs. Radow is a registered nurse and a member of the branch health committee. She was a candidate for the city council last year.

Dr. Alberta Turner is national president of Jack and Jill, Inc., a psychologist at the State Bureau of Juvenile Research, and has taught psychology at Ohio State University.

Tennessee: The Tennessee STATE CONFERENCE of NAACP branches concluded its seventh annual convention at Jackson in December. Jackson is not far from Brownsville, one of the worst racial spots in the country and where a Negro was once lynched for trying to vote.

The convention condemned the Brownsville situation and called upon state and federal officials to intervene to establish the civil rights of Negro residents, in particular the right to vote.

Other resolutions, unanimously adopted, endorsed Dr. Z. Alexander Looby, prominent Nashville attorney and member of the city council, and chairman of the NAACP state legal redress committee, for election to the NAACP national board of directors; endorsed the campaign to end segregation in education and all other aspects of American life; instructed the state board of the NAACP to take all necessary steps to have the Negro blind children moved from their present unfit and superannuated quarters to the new facilities of the Tennessee School for the Blind on a non-segregated basis; called for the appointment of Negroes to state boards and commissions, etc.; opposed all efforts to sell the TVA to private interests or to hamper its growth; extended thanks to the Greater Bethel church where the sessions were held and to the local arrangements committee for its efforts: called on President Eisenhower to exercise executive clemency in behalf of two servicemen, Burns and Dennis, now under sentence of death as a result of a court-martial on Guam under circum-

stances which indicate that they were victims of racial prejudice and an unfair trial (the Supreme Court has refused to review this case, with Black, Douglas, and Frankfurter dissenting).

A final unanimous resolution memorialized the national office of the NAACP to seek appropriate enactments which would require the U. S. Supreme Court to review on its merits any case, federal or state, involving the death penalty.

The convention unanimously elected the following officers: Mrs. B. H. Netherland, Knoxville, president; Dr. Lee Lorch, Nashville, vice-president; Mrs. J. F. Grimmett, Nashville, secretary; Mr. M. W. Day, Nashville, treasurer; Miss Fannie Clay, Knoxville, youth advisor; Dr. Z. Alexander Looby, Nashville; and Rev. U. Z. MacKinnon, Jackson, board members at large. The president of each branch in the state is also a member of the state board. Mrs. Grimmett was elected for the first time, the others all served in their respective offices last year.

Wisconsin: New officers of the MILWAUKEE branch are Dale Phillips, president; Edward Walker, vice-president; Mrs. Shirley Taylor, secretary; Carolyn Allen assistant secretary; and Wilbur Halyard, treasurer.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard, addressed the branch on December 15 in its annual meeting. Other features of the program included the branch annual report, with citation of the following specific projects:

The public forum of Wisconsin FEP legislation and our support of a strong bill with enforcement powers.

Obtained a job for a Negro in a state agency which had denied him an existing job; secured the assurance that no such incident would re-occur.

Investigated and corrected the practice in some places of accommodations of overcharging Negro patrons.

Investigated and corrected the practice of two Milwaukee automobile insurance companies who were denying insurance to Negroes solely on basis of race.

Investigated and tested the so-called existence of ordinance in Northern Wisconsin which prevented Negroes from spending the night. Two board members visited the community, spent the night in a hotel, and used many other public accommodations, and there with no incident whatsoever.

Presented a frank and open discussion of some of the questionable practices in our public school system.

Organized the first state conference of NAACP branches in the state.

DID YOU KNOW —

That Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner was called "the father of Negro songs"?

After he sang "The Gay Negro Boy" at the Federal Theatre in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 30, 1799, he specialized in popularizing Negro songs.

Good News

Dr. Orville Ballard, a member of the Waverly Hills Sanatorium staff since 1928, and Dr. Grace M. James, acting instructor in the outpatient children's clinic at General Hospital, Louisville, Kentucky, have been named to the faculty of the medical school of the University of Louisville, Kentucky. They are believed to be the first Negroes ever named to the faculty of a white medical school in the South.

★ ★ ★

At the election of the Harvard Student Council in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on January 11, Clifford L. Alexander, Jr., was elected president. Alexander is a junior at Harvard College majoring in American government.

★ ★ ★

John L. Procope, Jr., of New York City, became the second Negro within the past 18 months to join the staff of the Marketing Department of Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, Inc., advertising agency, which has offices in 12 cities across the country.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. Marion Stewart Abbott, of Trevose, Bucks county, Pa., has been appointed an administrative assistant to the CARE mission chief for India and Pakistan. CARE, Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc., is a non-profit overseas welfare agency.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. Julia P. Cooper is the first colored lawyer to be appointed to a legal position with General Services. She is a graduate of the Howard University law school.

★ ★ ★

The Embassy of Liberia in Washington honored Melvin B. Tolson at a tea on January 11 on the occasion of publication of his "Libretto for the Republic of Liberia."

★ ★ ★

The first major African exhibition in this country to be mounted by Africans, depicting the past and present culture of West Africa, with special emphasis on the Gold Coast, opened January 5 at the New Carnegie Endowment International Center in New York City.

College and School News

THE METROPOLITAN MUSIC SCHOOL (New York City) began its first concert of the fall-winter series on December 20, featuring Edith Allaire in a program of Asian folk songs.

■

TOUGALOO COLLEGE was recently accepted by the Commission on Colleges and Universities and voted approval by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

■

FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE has planned a building and renovation program for 1954 to include construction of a $135,000 infirmary, additions to the laundry, and additions and repairs to the Mechanical Arts building and Vance hall.

■

Dr. Howard Thurman, dean of the chapel at BOSTON UNIVERSITY, lectured at Columbia university in December under the auspices of the University's Institute of Arts and Sciences on the topic "Faith is More than a Word." Dr. Thurman was at one time on the faculty of Howard university.

■

The undergraduate phase of the OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC., for the 40th Grand Conclave in Cincinnati, Ohio (December 27-30), featured a workshop on undergraduate activities, which included a panel

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discussion on scholarship moderated by Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse, and members of the Omega scholarship committee.

■

Members of the Delta Beta chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity are conducting a "student tutoring" program at BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE designed to help students solve problems encountered during their regular classroom work.

■

The nationally known TV show, "Coke Time," which stars Eddie Fisher, presented the TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE CHOIR, under director William Dawson, on Christmas day and New Year's day.

■

The winter term of WILLIAM PENN BUSINESS INSTITUTE (Philadelphia, Pa.) opened on January 4 with the return of advanced students. President C. W. Maxwell says there is now a greater demand than ever for trained secretarial and office personnel.

■

LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE'S Hood Theological Seminary held a peace education workshop in December sponsored jointly by The American Friends Service Committee and the Seminary. The general theme was "Issues Affecting Peace."

Major addresses were given by Dr. Algie Newlin, head of the department of history and political science at Guilford college, Greensboro, N.C., who spoke on "Basic World Issues Affecting Peace"; and Dr. Li-

onel Whiston, professor of religion and philosophy at Catawba college, Salisbury, who gave an address on "The Christian's Responsibility in Facing These Issues." Following the addresses, three workshops were conducted for children's workers, youth leaders, and adult workers.

■

The board of directors of the General State Baptist Convention met at THE FLORIDA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL MEMORIAL COLLEGE in December to discuss ways of raising the scholastic standards of the college.

The college choir appeared on a special program held at the Bethel Baptist church, Jacksonville, on December 13. The forty-voice choir is directed by Dr. Halsey Carstens.

■

Dr. Lou LaBrant, professor of English at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, was elected president of the National Council of the Teachers of English at the annual meeting of the association recently held in New York City. Dr. LaBrant is the first white faculty member of a Negro institution to be so honored.

"The emergence of the new Negro middle class is no help to the masses of Negroes. It fails to provide leadership to the masses," according to Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, professor of sociology at Howard. Dr. Frazier addressed the school of arts and sciences forum on December 9 on the subject "The Growing Importance of the Middle Class Among Negroes in the United States."

Dr. Frazier found that the new middle class was substituting a new set of values for those held by the old middle class: the crudest of American values, those based entirely on money and status.

Fourteenth annual conference of the College Language Association will be held at Atlanta university April 30-May 1, 1954, at the invitation of Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta.

■

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A group of TALLADEGA COLLEGE seniors and professors spent ten days in Cuba during December examining educational and cultural life in a part of the island. They visited Protestant and Catholic missions, schools, a university center, government buildings, and, by special invitation, the American Embassy.

The study tour, partly sponsored by the Off-Campus Contacts Committee, was directed by Dr. Donald Rasmussen, professor of sociology. Talladega instructor Ruby Kennedy was chaperon.

Sara Eaton, senior in sociology, has completed a six-month internship in community service in Chicago working with day-camp youngsters in the Henry Booth Settlement House, from June to September, and with girls in the Halstead Street church project from Setpember to December. Community Service is a Quaker project financed in part by the Ford Foundation.

■

Attorney Dorsey Murray, executive secretary of the CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE general alumni association with Ramon Haysbert of Baltimore, a member of the alumni executive board, have set up a Philadelphia alumni chapter of the college. The newly organized chapter of thirty-five members come from nearby Jersey cities as well as Philadelphia.

■

Bishop S. L. Greene of MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE announces plans for a study trip to Africa in March for people interested in Christian missions and education. It is the first

united effort of the American Negro church to undertake a goodwill tour of any African country.

■

Dr. Samuel Nabrit, dean of the college at Atlanta university, spoke on the MOREHOUSE COLLEGE lecture series January 5-6. These were seminar appearances in which he discussed "Our Goal in Education" and "Some Techniques Leading Toward a Broader World View."

President Benjamin Mays announced recently that Morehouse has been granted $100,000 by the Ford Foundation for the second Phase of its Early Admission Program. This program is open to students of high scholastic achievement who will have completed at least the sophomore year of high school by June, 1954.

For the first phase of its early admission program Morehouse was given $150,000 to take in two groups of 30 each, to be fully financed for two years. The additional grant will enable the college to take in some 24 EAP students in 1954, and 24 in September, 1955, for two years of study.

■

Basil O'Connor, president of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, announces that the National Foundation has made a five-year grant to DILLARD UNIVERSITY totaling $200,000.

Dr. Albert Dent, Dillard president, received a check for $40,000 from Mr. O'Connor for the continuation and expansion of the nurse education program at the university. This amount is payment on the Foundation's second five-year grant to the university nursing program.

President Dent announces publication of "The Edwin R. Embree Memorial Lectures, 1952-1953" delivered at Dillard. The 1952-53 lec-

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tures were given by Dr. Will Alexander, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and Sterling Brown.

Dillard was represented at the Fifth National Methodist Student Conference, December 28-January 2, at the University of Kansas by four students: Elmenia Sawyer, Blanche Troullier, Charles Bowers, Jr., Mose Pleasure, as well as Dr. Joseph Taylor of the division of social sciences.

■

The SHAW UNIVERSITY players, under the direction of Guilbert Daley, instructor in dramatics, presented Ayn Rand's three-act comedy, "Night of January Sixteenth," December 3-4. This was the first play of the season and it was a great success.

Elmer Dean of the social science department at SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE was elected to one of the three vacancies on the board of directors of the National Council for Social Studies at its December conference held in Buffalo, N. Y. This is the first time in the history of the 33-year-old organization that a Negro has been elected to the board.

President Payne has announced that the building program at SSC is going ahead according to schedule.

■

The ALBANY STATE COLLEGE athletic association sponsored its 50th anniversary banquet on December 12 to honor its football squad. President Aaron Brown made the principal remarks.

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LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) observed founders' day on January 17 with two programs which highlighted the purposes of this 88-year-old institution. The main address was delivered by the Rev. Mr. James Cook, executive secretary of the Pine Street YMCA, St. Louis, Mo.

Following a practice instituted several years ago, the university awarded board of curator citations to living Lincoln graduates of fifty years (1903 or before). Thirty-six have been granted to date, and an additional six were presented on January 17.

Dr. Sherman Scruggs, Lincoln president, is one of twenty-nine advisory members serving on a special legislative-citizens committee to work out a new Missouri education program. The committee, which began its work the latter part of January, will be headed by Senator C. R. Hawkins (R) of Brumley, Mo.

Good news for high-school shutter-bugs comes from the Lincoln school of journalism. A national photographic contest, open to secondary school students anywhere in the United States, offers cash prizes totaling $100 for the winning pictures in four classes. Deadline for all entries is March 15, 1954.

■

A find of major importance to the whole study of paleontology—including the discovery of at least eight fossil skulls of a tiny prehistoric horse—made by an AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY expedition to the southwestern United States has been described by Dr. George Gaylord Simpson, chairman

of the Museum's department of geology and paleontology. The discovery promises to be the richest single find known of mammals of the Eocene epoch, dating from 50 to 60 million years ago.

The contributions of the Museum toward filling the gaps of man's knowledge about himself and nature are reviewed by Dr. Albert Parr, director, in the institution's 84th annual report, released in December.

■

Service in World War II improved the attitude of Negro soldiers toward white Americans, if the reactions of 219 Negro veterans who figured in a recent study by Dr. Harry Roberts of VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE are a fair indication. "The most important change associated with military service," Dr. Roberts finds, "is a marked over-all improvement in attitude; that is, a shift from a more negative to a less negative or to a positive attitude toward whites."

Southern-born men, among whom the percentage of original hostility was highest, showed the greatest improvement in attitude after service. Among northern-born men, however, there was an increase in negative attitudes as a result of experience during military service.

Dr. Roberts, commenting on this difference, explained that southern-born men, who are more conditioned to racial segregation in civilian life, "found less segregation, discrimination and violence in military service than outside it." Of the 36 northern-born men, 53 percent entered the Service with positive attitudes, but only 29 percent reported a wholesome reaction after leaving it.

Dr. Roberts' study appeared in the October, 1953, issue of *Social Problems*.

Dr. Samuel Madden, director of field services, and Dr. Cortlandt Colson, head of the secondary education department, represented the college at the Teacher Education and Professional Standards Clinic held in Washington, D. C., December 11-12.

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Recent speakers on the campus are Dr. P. G. Krishnayya, publisher, of India; Dr. J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association; and Dr. Thomas Henderson, dean of Virginia Union. Salvador Ley, Guatemalan pianist, was presented in concert January 12.

■

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of FISK UNIVERSITY, has been informed of his nomination for membership in the College of Electors of the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, by Ralph Sockman, director of the Hall of Fame. Dr. Johnson's name will be presented to the college for election in June, 1955.

Dr. S. O. Roberts, chairman of the university psychology department and director of its program of child development, has recently been appointed to membership on the Council for Psychological Resources in the South. The Council's goal is to deal with regional needs for psychological services and with programs directed towards the provision of more psychologists, research, and increased community psychological services.

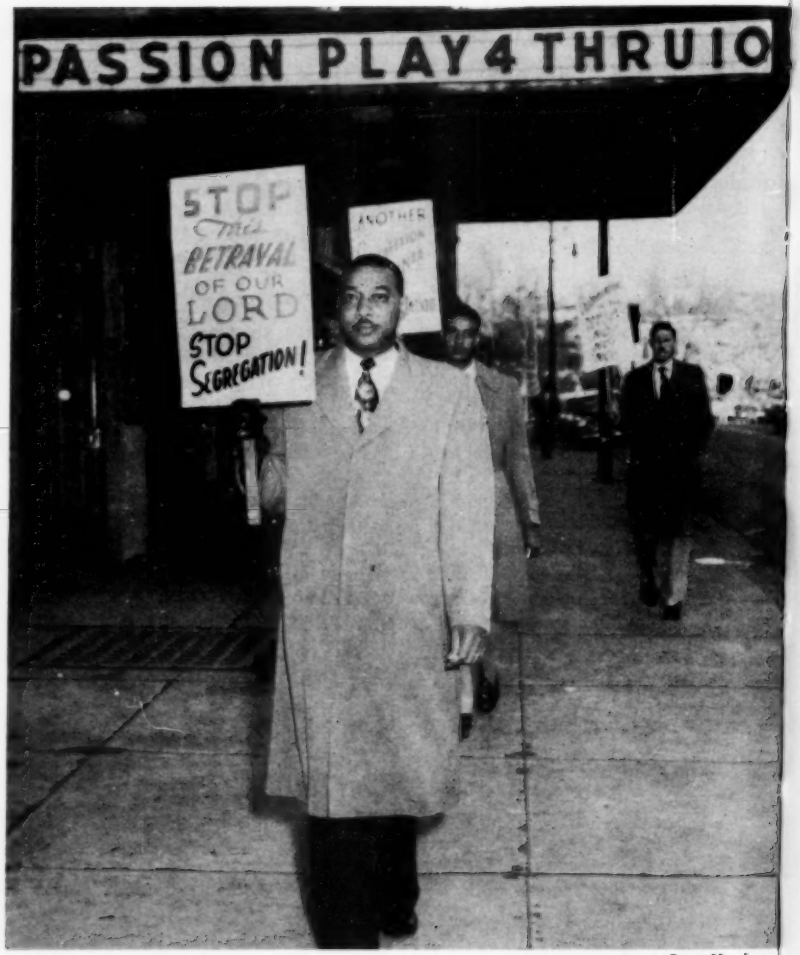
Dr. S. P. Massie, chairman of the department of chemistry, was the presiding officer at the 43rd annual meeting, December 3-5, of the Baptist university, Shawnee, Oklahoma. This is the first time a Negro has presided over a state academy. Dr. Massie was elected unanimously to this post in December, 1952.

Eighteen colleges belonging to the United Negro College Fund will sponsor the Cooperative Intercollegiate Examination Program of 1953-54, a joint examination for scholarships and admission at the participating institutions. Over $100,000 in scholarship awards will be made on the basis of these tests after examinations are given March 1 and March 15 in approximately 100 high schools in 27 states.

DID YOU KNOW —

That the first Negro state school was the Snowden School of Alexandria, Virginia?

It was authorized by an act of the Virginia State Legislature on July 11, 1870, and was under the guidance of William Frank Powell. Its existence, however, was of short duration.



Scott Henderson

LEADING THE WAY—*W. Lester Banks, executive secretary Virginia state conference, leads protest picket line against segregated seating pattern invoked at the week's run of the Black Hills Passion Play at the Richmond, Virginia, city-owned Mosque. Jim-crow seating pattern was clamped down after play had show to unsegregated audiences for two days. Hundreds of Richmond school children and other Richmonders refused to fill the segregated seats, and as result of the NAACP protest the play was a financial flop.*

Book Reviews

HEROIC BLACKS

The Negro in the Civil War. **By Benjamin Quarles. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1953. XVI+379pp. $5.00.**

When the Civil War began the general opinion in both the North and the South was that "the Negro was too grossly ignorant to perform the duties of a soldier intelligently, and that blacks were not fit to wear a military uniform because they belonged to a degraded, inferior race, lacking in manly qualities." What Professor Benjamin Quarles has tried to do in this able and readable piece of historical writing is to invalidate this claim by detailing the activities of the Negro throughout the war. And in doing this he has filled in a gap that almost all non-Negro historians—excepting a few such as Edward Channing, John B. MacMaster, Edward McPherson, and Horace Greeley—have generally neglected in general works on American history.

Professor Quarles has put together a picture of the Negro in this fratricidal strife that is touchingly descriptive, humorous at times, but always sincere and accurate in its recounting of what Negroes did in both the domains of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. Their efforts in land and sea battles, both in victory and defeat, are set down with force and feeling. Their non-combat service, both men and women, as labor troops, propagandists, medical aids, spies, as well as the home-front are described in an attention-holding manner that will be an eye-opener to most Americans fed on the traditionally skewed historical fare of the Civil War long cooked up in our schools. The Negroes' joy at being set free and his astonishment upon realizing what a tremendous responsibility was his with this freedom are painted in bold strokes.

The author has sensibly fitted this story together in its larger setting of the politico-military machinations of both the Union and Confederate governments. President Lincoln's tardy tiptoeing towards decisions on using Negroes as soldiers and issuing the Emancipation Proclamation and General Sherman's adamant refusal to use Negroes as combat troops, while the South's pondering their enlistment as a last desperate measure in the final stages of the war, are adroitly worked into the canvas. It is all here—all the major aspects of what the Negro *did* in the Civil War.

If it can be called a defect in this estimable and much-needed work, it is the lack of material on what the Negro did that he should not have done during the course of the war. This volume is a detailed description of the heroic black in his glories and sufferings as a humble and courageous participant as

he strove to prove he was not "lacking in manly qualities." But certainly there were some who were not heroic, who were not "manly," some who were slackers, a few cowards, others who could not be considered brave, and some who looted and pillaged as is wont to be a part of the picture of all wars. Yet this omission may be understandable. Professor Quarles probably felt that this side of the picture has already been well taken care of by countless American historians who have generally written unbalanced pictures of the Civil War, neglecting the Negro entirely or inserting only negative references to him.

But on the whole this book is a milestone in American history and stands without a peer on the subject it covers. The author very wisely wrote it in the style of popular history, eliminating footnotes, yet respecting scientific accuracy by appending a general bibliography fitted to each chapter, as well as a helpful index.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

SOFT MEDITATIONS

Maud Martha. **A novel by Gwendolyn Brooks. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. 180pp. $2.50.**

There is every indication in *Maud Martha* that poetess Gwendolyn Brooks is capable of well rounded characterizations of which her heroine Maud is a finespun, fractional specimen. For what Miss Brooks presents in this slender volume are bright glimpses of a world turning upon Maud's soft meditations. Writing with the quiet charm and sparkling delicacy of tone which brought Emily Dickinson's bird down the walk to drink a dew, Miss Brooks has begat a kind of beauty upon ugliness by lighting up the humanity of her creation against the background of a Chicago slum area:

> . . . It was August, and Thirty-fourth Street was all in bloom. The blooms, in their undershirts, sundresses and diapers, were hanging over porches and fence stiles and strollers, and were even bringing chairs out to the rims of sidewalks.

Maud has not accepted herself with that unconscious assurance which makes her male counterpart, Jesse Simple, so articulate in his easy living with hard conditions. She finds herself too often wishing to be what her husband Paul, absorbed as he is in surface values, believes he wants her to be. For all practical purposes, this is as it should be, for what the author is dealing with from the inside of her creation are those very human hopes which grasp straw values in reaching very hungrily for real ones. In all this, Miss Brooks maintains a kind of subtle, close-lipped control over her style which so heightens its rich suggestiveness that one is led to believe he understands more for being told less.

But the glory of *Maud Martha* is that in it we meet people whom we know (and whose problems we know too well): such as David McKemster, who finds himself caught up in the significance of Parrington's *Main Currents* before he has caught up with the reading of it. True, Miss Brooks strokes her canvas lightly, but simultaneously, she rings a bell every time, and quite clearly.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

"INSUFFERABLE IGNORANCE"

The Negro Novelist: **A Discussion of the Writings of American Negro Novelists 1940-1950. By Carl Milton Hughes. New York: The Citadel Press, 1953. 288pp. $4.00.**

Carl Milton Hughes' *The Negro Novelist* is the kind of book one must deal with—if at all—by degrees. There is first the degree of brazen arrogance evidenced by the claims made on the

jacket and in the foreword of this volume. There is next the Ph.D. degree for which this mess of sordid litter—intended as a dissertation—was offered. And there is lastly the degree of insufferable ignorance represented by the contents of the book itself.

As to the jacket blurb, this is definitely *not* "a significant book of literary criticism with far-reaching social implications." Moreover, Mr. Hughes has not "completed successfully all formal requirements for his Ph.D. at Columbia University in the Department of English and Comparative Literature." He therefore could not have done "post-doctoral study at Balliol College, Oxford, England, and the University of Paris in 1950." Indeed, the question raised by *The Negro Novelist* is how the author managed to complete the formal requirements for freshman English at "the University of Maine."

As to the foreword, Mr. Hughes has reason to be "grateful" to the members of the English Department at Columbia whom he lists as having extended him help and courtesy, but whom he shocked with complimentary copies of this ill-wrought and understandably rejected "study."

Of the contents of this book it were better to say nothing than what one feels obligated to say. It reflects much reading of book reviews, little selective judgment, and less understanding. It presents a tortured and torturing sentence structure blended with unbounded pretentiousness. "This book," we learn on page 20, "through critical analysis, develops the thesis that Negro novelists of the forties broadened their perspective . . . that is to say," it repeats on page 195, "they broadened their perspective rather than to concentrate exclusively on racial themes and Negro life." Having thus met and clashed head on with the requirements of parallel structure, Mr. Hughes travels abroad in search of Richard Wright: "In Richard Wright's case, on the other hand, who comes from a substandard American group on the economic scale, he had experienced hardships characteristic of the existence led by Bigger."

A typical illustration of Mr. Hughes' "scholarship" comes in a footnote he uses to give what purports to be a synopsis of Richard Wright's *The Outsider*. Cross Damon, the main character in the Wright novel, becomes with Mr. Hughes "Cross Houston" (a confusion of Damon with Ely Houston, the district attorney) on page 258-9. Author J. Saunders Redding will find himself "doctored" by Mr. Hughes on pages 228-9.

This sort of imposture is all the more egregious in view of the fact that the bursting of vitality among Negro authors (subsequent to the appearance of *Native Son* in 1940) has established a need for the very book *The Negro Novelist* is not. The product of Mr. Hughes' confusion is "critical" only in the sense that it is critically inept.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

TENDER BOOK

***In the Castle of My Skin.* A novel by George Lamming. With an introduction by Richard Wright. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953. XII+313pp. $3.75.**

He remembered only the singing at the farewell party which was given before he left Creighton's village for Trinidad. In Trinidad no one knew him and he would seek "to strike identity with the other person," a thing which had not been possible for him in the little village where he spent his formative years:

> I am always feeling terrified of being known; not because they really know you, but simply because their claim to this knowledge is a concealed attempt to destroy you. That is what knowing means. As soon as

they know you they will kill you, and thank God that's why they can't kill you. They can never know you. Sometimes I think the same thing will be true in Trinidad. The likenesses will meet and make merry, but they won't know you. They won't know the you that's hidden somewhere in the castle of your skin.

George Lamming's impressively tender and quiet book is the saga of a peasant people and how they live and react, particularly when the firm hand of change shakes the very land that bred them. And what we can know of him by this volume is that through the eyes and ears of a true poet he issues a honey-suckled prose. *In the Castle of My Skin* will mean different things to different people, depending on what one wishes a novel to do for him. Those who concern themselves primarily with the economic and social status of the downtrodden and restless millions will agree with Boy Blue, who never lost his temper, that "Tis good to dream . . . but it ain't good to dream all the time"; or they will see eye to eye with Pa who "hated violence too, but the changes that were taking place didn't involve violence. Nobody assaulted. Things simply happened and people seemed to understand more." Others will applaud Pa more for observing that "The changes goin' to come an' the changes goin' to go, but at the bottom the real thing'll go on for ever." But for the general reader this book will both fascinate and inform, for Mr. Lamming's record of his childhood and youth sheds light on the inner and outer worlds of human consciousness in Barbados.

Pa and Ma carry the theme of this novel in their rich dialogue. Boy Blue, Trumper, Bob, Mr. Slime and the author illustrate the change and chart its direction. But it is Trumper who provides the crescendo for Mr. Lamming's arrangement. Trumper has gone to New York City to discover that he is supposed to be "a different kind of creature." Then he flashes the stinger which frequently shows through the honey in this book: "I tellin' you . . . I just back from the United States of America an' I know. There be people there in the hundreds o' thousands who would have give anything not to get out their mother's guts."

Richard Wright, whose portrayal of American hunger in the *Black Boy* this book so closely resembles, supplies for it an introduction such as leaves little to say. *In the Castle of My Skin* is the kind of poetic prose one reads neither silently nor aloud, but in the soft whisper its genuine lyricism elicits. It has a seasoned sweetness the taste of which falls somewhere between the tear and the raindrop.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

***America Day By Day.* By Simone de Beauvoir. Translated from the French by Patrick Dudley. New York: Grove Press, 1953. 337pp. $4.00.**

The original of this book with its generous dose of truisms and trivialities was published in Paris in 1948 and reviewed in the January 1949 *Crisis* at page 27. It is a report on the four-month visit Mlle. de Beauvoir made to the United States in 1947. Although she claims "there was no process of selection involved in the development of this story," what she reports is nevertheless colored by two pet peeves: American Puritanism and American Capitalism. Therefore she takes great joy in recording her tours of night clubs, bars, and dives; her encounters with derelicts and louts; for she regards these things as highly instructive commentary upon the effectiveness of our Puritan preachments. On the other hand Capitalism has a hideous rear in its dirt, misery, and poverty.

Though *America Day by Day* is partial, sometimes false, it does have the

fabric of fact and the author's insight into many areas of American life. What she has to say about the Negro, while not new, is often refreshing. As the author of *The Second Sex,* Mlle. de Beauvoir also takes due note of the superstitious feeling of American men that they are "obviously inferior [sexually] to Europeans and Negroes."

Our author liked the "cordial good humor of the Americans . . . was especially fond of taxi drivers . . ." captivated by our easiness in human relations and the manner in which "Americans of importance know how to establish an easy relationship immediately . . . America: it was a part of the planet, a political system, a civilization, a mixture of classes, races, sects and peoples who must be taken one by one as I encountered them." America is "a realm still in transcendence . . . where man has taken raw matter in the toils of his desire and has asserted over it the power of imagination."

One warning to the reader. This English version of *L'Amerique au Jour le Jour* has been cut in many places. For instance, more than two-thirds of the April 3rd entry (pp. 238-252 original) commenting on the Negro problem has been omitted; her acid comments on Elsa Maxwell (p. 176ff.); her reference to Rita Hayworth on intermarriage; and many other observations. For some reason the publisher does not tell the reader about these cuts and condensations: this is not fair. By the way, the book is dedicated "to Ellen and Richard Wright."

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

(*Continued from page* 76)

with the Niagara Movement, nor with the remanents of the Afro-American Council which its president, Bishop Walters, had brought out of Washington's orbit in 1907, nor with the Constitutional League which maintained an independent existence for some time. But most of their members joined the new movement. In short, the NAACP was the climax of a rising protest movement among Negroes and whites against race discrimination and the Washington tactics. It was the most effective instrument of agitation and protest for Negro rights formed since slavery times, and by the same token was the most effective combination of forces against Washington's methods yet organized.

In the first months following the conference of 1909 Collector Anderson in New York did his best by speeches and personal influence to counteract the "anti-Bookerites" like Du Bois, Walters, and Ransom, though Villard and Washington remained on cordial terms. Then, in April, 1910, Anderson, recalling his consistent dislike of Villard, called to Tuskegee's attention a new and critical note in the editorial policy of the *Post.* He also informed Washington that Villard and Milholland were discussing a merger of the Constitutional League and the committee formed at the 1909 conference, with Du Bois to be a paid executive. These developments, he said, strengthened his opinion that "certain" whites were trying to "lessen" Washington's influence. Washington took immediate steps to "lessen" the influence of the NAACP, which had been incorporated in May, 1910. The evidence suggests, for example, that at Washington's request H. T. Kealing, editor of the A.M.E. Church *Review,* declined to serve on the

NAACP executive board. When it was definitely ascertained that Du Bois would take charge of publicity and research for the NAACP, Washington directed Anderson to enlarge his Republican Club so as to include representatives of all Negro groups in the city, and thus put the Collector in "control" of the "situation." Yet Washington remained friendly with Villard, who addressed the Negro Business League convention in 1910 with an appeal on behalf of the NAACP.

WASHINGTON ATTACKED

Meanwhile, Robert Russa Moton, commandant of cadets at Hampton Institute, was working for an understanding with the opposition. Of all the members of the Tuskegee circle he was the one who maintained the most friendly relations with Washington's critics. He was on especially good terms with Atlanta Baptist (later Morehouse) College president John Hope, who was a member of the Niagara Movement and an intimate of Du Bois. During the summer of 1910 Moton conferred with Villard and received the latter's assurances that the NAACP was not attacking Hampton, Tuskegee, or Booker Washington. He also tried —unsuccessfully—to secure a conference between Washington and Du Bois through the mediation of John Hope.

Moton's efforts received a rude setback in October, 1910, during Washington's lecture tour in England. NAACP treasurer Milholland distributed a circular in London attacking Washington's optimistic utterances and asserting that the *Post* had turned against the Tuskegeean. Shortly afterwards a group of Negroes headed by Du Bois circulated an attack upon Washington in the same city. Giving their address as "Headquarters, National Negro Committee, 20 Vesey Street, New York," (the address of the NAACP) this circular denied that "the Negro problem in America is in process of satisfactory solution," and declared that "Washington's large responsibilities have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reason, he has for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth." "In flat contradiction to the pleasant pictures" depicted by Washington, the circular enumerated the grievances suffered by American Negroes, and appealed for "the moral support of . . . Europe in this crusade for the recognition of manhood. . . . It is," the signers concluded, "one thing to be optimistic . . . and forgiving, but it is quite a different thing, consciously or unconsciously to misrepresent the truth." Meanwhile Washington had been attacked at an NAACP meeting in Chicago, and by Du Bois in Washington, D. C. To Booker T. Washington all this was evidence of Villard's insincerity in claiming that neither he nor the NAACP were against Washington or Hampton and Tuskegee. At Washington's request, Moton wrote Villard and John Hope about the situation, asking for frankness and reiterating his desire for conciliation between the two groups.

In replying to both Moton and Washington, Villard insited that the NAACP was not fighting Hampton and Tuskegee or Booker Washing-

ton, and explained that it was not responsible for Milholland's or Du Bois' statements. Yet he frankly admitted substantial agreement with their views. He pointed out, however, that his philanthropic activities in behalf of Manassas and Tuskegee certainly showed him to be no foe of industrial education, and that he never failed to speak hopefully of Washington at NAACP meetings. Negroes had taken forward steps under Washington's "leadership," but "prejudice and discrimination" had increased even more rapidly, and Washington had done little to stop them. Villard respected Washington's sincerity, but felt that he had been led "astray" by his "optimism," that he was not speaking out against the many "evils' needing correction, but was saying what the South liked to hear; and that, indeed, certain of Washington's activities had been "most hurtful" to the Negroes.

NORTHERN NEGROES

Moton expressed discouragement at ever being able to do anything with the NAACP group, and dismissed the claim that the NAACP was not responsible for the activities of its officials as "moonshine." But Washington replied to Villard, defending his course and citing quotations from recent speeches to show that he did speak out on "public questions." He thought Villard had mistaken views because he associated with "sour" and "unhappy" northern Negroes, failures in life, who were not in a position to observe actual conditions in the South. In turn Villard defended Milholland as an "unselfish" "friend of liberty" whom Washington had once found useful. Washington, he said, presented only the pleasant side, and remained silent about "increasing prejudice and injustice." He resented Washington's aspersions upon his friends, pointing out that acquaintances like Mary Church Terrell were not unhappy, and that Du Bois could hardly be called unsuccessful. He assured Washington that objections raised by his critics were not personal, but were concerned solely with ideological matters. Meanwhile Washington kept supplying Villard with clippings showing good race relations in the South, and Villard wrote editorials about some of them.

During the winter of 1910 and 1911 Charles Anderson was in his "shirt-sleeves," working "day and night,"—making numerous speeches, manipulating situations, talking to people—so as to keep down the influence of the NAACP. In order to "monopolize" the public speaking in New York, he devised a plan whereby each of Washington's friends in the city prepared two speeches, setting forth the "proper doctrine," for use at any time. Particularly trying were defections from the Washington circle. Anderson worked hard to counteract the unfortunate influence of *Age* editor Fred R. Moore, who consorted with radicals and democrats like Ransom and Walters, and antagonized Washington's supporters, thought it was Washington who had made him editor. When Villard informed Washington that the Constitutional League and the NAACP would not merge, and asked him not to hold the NAACP "liable" for the League's actions, Washington skeptically thought that Villard and Milholland either had come to a parting

of the ways, or had decided to let the League do the "dirty work," while the NAACP would "inveigle" Washington's friends into its program. That the NAACP was "inveigling" Washington's friends was evident, for in January, 1911, Anderson reported that some of them had attended a reception for Du Bois arranged by Walters, and complained that most of them were "loyal" only when Washington was close by.

The success of Du Bois, Walters and others was evident also in the disconcerting number of Negroes who voted for the Democrats in 1910. Washington was able to help Anderson but little in his struggle to keep their ranks intact. Terribly busy, and with the opposition steadily "hammering" at him, he found himself mentally and physically unable to cope with the such "details." Yet he maintained an eager interest in Anderson's activities, directed him to have Moore write an editorial that would " 'burn [William English] Walling up,' " and personally did all he could to wean the eminent financier Jacob Schiff away from his interest in the NAACP.

In the midst of these efforts Washington was severely beaten in New York in March, 1911, for allegedly approaching a white woman. All factions rushed to his defense, and an era of good feelings followed. Anderson reported that almost everyone but Du Bois was now "talking right." Individuals ranging from Ransom to Anderson addressed a mass meeting at Ransom's Bethel A.M.E. Church. At Villard's request Washington sent a message of greeting to the NAACP's annual meeting. He and Anderson agreed that since all but Du Bois had "softened" toward Washington, not to adopt a "conciliatory course," would lay Washington open to the charge of narrowness, and furnish a weapon for "the scoundrels" of the opposition. In his telegram to the NAACP Washington pledged his "friendly cooperation," and declared that he was "convinced" that the time had come to put away "personal . . . bickerings" and to work with "mutual understanding," though along different lines. The NAACP passed a resolution regretting the assault upon Washington, and, at the Tuskegeean's suggestion, appointed two fraternal delegates to the next Business League meeting. For his part Washington soon informed Villard that the wealthy drug manufacturer, William Jay Schieffelin had agreed to serve on the NAACP educational committee, and that efforts were being made to stop Fred Moore from attacking the Association in the *Age*. In his forthcoming book, *My Larger Education*, Washington, though critical of the intellectuals," gave favorable mention to Villard. And Moton, who attended the Races Congress in London the next summer in order to counteract NAACP action, was pleasantly surprised at the moderate statements of Du Bois and Milholland.

SOUR NOTES

The only sour note in this lovefeast was the relationship between Tuskegee and Du Bois. Washington felt that Du Bois was the only one who had not "softened" toward him, and both he and Anderson hoped that the revival of general friendliness toward Washington would iso-

late DuBois. Anderson was still suspicious of the "crocheteers in Vesey Street," but for Washington's sake he had done the "strange" thing of acquiring a large number of "olive branches," and was "maintaining" a "precautionary respect . . . just now" toward the "Vesey Street crowd." At Washington's request the Collector made representations to the administration against Milholland's attempt to secure Du Bois a place on the Haytian Commission. Even Moton finally came to feel that it was hopeless to expect any "co-operation" from Du Bois, and that it would be a waste of time to trying working with any movement in which he was active. Furthermore, to Washington's pleasure, Anderson secured the dismissal of the Socialist lecturer and pamphleteer, Hubert H. Harrison, from his place in the postal service, because of anti-Washington articles he had written.

Villard and Washington remained on friendly terms until 1913. New tensions then arose in regard to Villard's sponsorship of an association of Negro industrial schools. Villard was naturally interested in such a project because of his connection with Manassas. But Washington was suspicious because the first meeting was to be held in the same building in which the NAACP had its offices. Denying that he was "too fearful," he wrote Villard that it would be unfortunate to "confuse the work" of the NAACP with southern education, but that he would send a representative if the conference were held elsewhere. To Scott he expressed the view that "the real purpose" of the new organization was to create the impression that Washington was working with the National Association. Villard, writing to Moton, called Washington's refusal "cowardly," but changed the meeting place. Moton however agreed with Washington, and thought it would be most unwise to meet in "Du Bois' . . . office", and that Washington had shown real courage to reply as he had. Villard went ahead, anyhow, but he and Washington never agreed on the matter, and it was only a question of time before the organization died.

Moton continued, in spite of discouragements and a growing pessimism, to mediate between Washington and the NAACP. In March, 1914, he wrote Villard that while he "appreciated" the work of the Association, he questioned some of its methods, and was especially disturbed by criticisms Joel Spingarn, chairman of the Association's Executive Board, had made at a Chicago meeting. Villard did not agree with Spingarn, but still felt that Washington was in a "pitiful position"—"like Nero, fiddling while Rome burns," and silent, while Negroes were being deprived of "one right after another." He felt that Washington was becoming "anathema" to educated Negroes, and was losing his position as a "real leader." He was especially pained because he had always been a "loyal supporter" of Washington and Tuskegee, raising the Baldwin Fund, and rushing to Washington's defense after the New York incident of 1911.

Moton didn't appreciate Villard's description of the Tuskegeean, but he still though Villard sincere and wishing to "help," though misguided and "deceived" by others. While Scott thought it was hopeless to make

more attempts to convince Villard, Moton arranged a conference between Villard and Moore in order to iron out difficulties between the *Age* and the Association, and to give Moore an opportunity to convince Villard of the erroneousness of his views. Nothing fruitful was accomplished, however, and Washington resignedly wrote Moton that he would not become "bitter" just because certain "good friends" like Villard did not "understand" him. He went on to say that outrages and injustices "pained" him just as much as they did others, but that in the long run he felt his program the more constructive.

NAIVE OPTIMISM

Yet Washington resented what he thought was Villard's attempt to dominate him. Effecting a rapprochement with Walters early in 1914, he and the Bishop entered upon a campaign to influence the press to emphasize the importance of Negro leadership — leadership which would welcome the "advice" of "disinterested" individuals like Dr. Frissell of Hampton, but would not be dominated by any single white man—that is, Washington meant, by Villard. It is curious that Washington put such faith in paternalistic do-gooders like Frissell who were skeptical of any ultimate full equality for racial minorities in the United States, yet was suspicious of genuine liberals like Villard.

Truly cordial relationships were not re-established before Washington died late in 1915. In March of that year Charles Anderson thought it advantageous to play a petty trick on the NAACP. Spingarn, Du Bois, Villard, Fred Moore (!) and others had obtained a hearing before the mayor of New York in order to protest against the showing of the *Birth of a Nation*. Anderson promptly cut the ground from under them by seeing the mayor first, so that the delegation must have felt foolish when informed by the mayor that he had already censored the picture. Washington was delighted that Anderson had forestalled the NAACP "crowd" and taken "the wind out of their sails."

But in spite of all that Washington did, the NAACP continued to grow. Du Bois', *Crisis* proved a phenomenal success. A number of important figures friendly to Washington had come over to the Association. The election of Moton instead of Emmett Scott to the Tuskegee presidency after Washington's death meant that a moderate who had long tried to find a meeting ground with the opposition, and who in 1918 said he was a friend of Du Bois, now led the Hampton-Tuskegee group. In 1916 Joel Spingarn sponsored the Amenia Conference attended by representatives of all points of view ranging from Emmett Scott to Monroe Trotter. Even Scott was softened by this conference into friendly feelings for Spingarn. And then in 1917, the NAACP played an ironic master stroke in selecting one of the most talented and capable individuals in the Washington orbit—James Weldon Johnson—as its field secretary.

James Weldon Johnson in his autobiography, *Along This Way*, written after fourteen years as field secretary and executive secretary of the NAACP, recalled how his good friend Charles Anderson put him in

charge of the local Republican Club, and then arranged for his consular appointments first to Venezuela and then to Nicaragua. What Johnson does not tell us is that it was through Booker Washington, the arbiter of Roosevelt's appointments for all Negroes, that Anderson obtained these positions for Johnson. Johnson felt "deeply indebted" to Washington for the "invaluable service" he had done in recommending Johnson to the President and the Secretary of State, and from time to time he wrote the Tuskegeean long, chatty letters about life in Porto Cabello and Corinto. Washington was quite taken with Johnson and pushed his promotion with the Roosevelt and Taft administration.

OPPOSITION TRIUMPHED

Johnson in later years referred to Washington's noted Atlanta Exposition Address as "illogical," but in the early part of the century the shrewd writer and diplomat was clearly a member of the Washington group. A man who referred to the opposition as "the enemy," who was a close friend of Collector Anderson, and whom Washington considered "a first class man," could not have been anything else. Yet Johnson was acutely aware of discrimination and indignities, and his novel, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1911), described them effectively. Undoubtedly Johnson would have agreed with William H. Lewis, assistant attorney-general under Taft, when he described Washington's indirect approach as simply bringing the wooden horse inside the walls of Troy. It was Joel Spingarn who had the perspicacity to propose the *"Coup d'état,"* as he put it, of securing Johnson as field secretary for the NAACP. Du Bois, when consulted, also thought that he was "entirely desirable." One suspects that Johnson's "desirability" may have been enhanced by his middle-of-the road position and his earlier identification with the Tuskegee group.

And so in spite of all that Washington did, the opposition had triumphed. Nothing Washington could have done would have prevented the rise of the NAACP, and all of Anderson's feverish and brilliant tactics went for naught. Washington's prominence and position of leadership had been due to conditions at the turn of the century, when even many Negroes, discouraged at the increasing oppression, thought his program contained some hope. But conditions steadily deteriorated during Washington's ascendancy, and this fact, coupled with the reform currents set loose during the Progressive Era (the early twentieth century) made inevitable the rise of protest organizations which culminated in the NAACP. Nothing could illustrate better than did Johnson's selection as field secretary of the NAACP the large shift in public sentiment that had taken place in the dozen years following the formation of the Niagara Movement in 1905 and Johnson's appointment as consul at Porto Cabello in 1906. It simply remains a pleasant irony that the eventual success of the NAACP was due, in no small degree, to the most versatile, and one of the very ablest, of the men in the whole Booker T. Washington orbit.

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